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Charles Deane,
from Hon. Comp.

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MEMOIR

OF

JOHN COTTON,

BY

JOHN NORTON.

WITH A

PREFACE AND NOTES,

BY

ENOCH POND,

Professor of Theology in the Theol. Sem. at Bangor, Maine.

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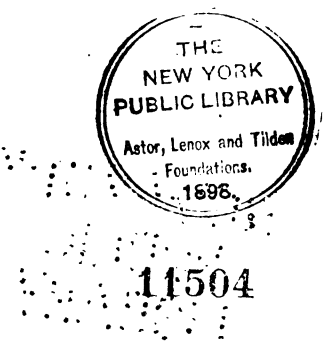

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PREFACE.

THE following memoir, I have reason to believe, is very little known in New England. It is not to be found in some of our largest and most ancient public libraries; and indeed I am not sure that there is a copy in the country, excepting that which now lies before me. The original title-page of the work is as follows:

Abel being dead, yet speaketh: or the Life and Death of that deservedly famous man of God, Mr. JOHN COTTON, late Teacher of the Church of Christ, at Boston, in New England. By JOHN NORTON, Teacher of the same Church. Heb. xiii. 7. "*Remember them which have the rule over you, who have spoken unto you the word of God; whose faith follow, considering the end of their conversation.*" London, printed by Tho. Newcomb for Lodowick Lloyd, and are to be sold at his shop, next the Castle tavern, in Cornhill. 1658.

I have thought it might be interesting to Christians in Boston, to possess a memoir of the venerable Cotton—first teacher of the first church in the place*—him, out of respect to whom their city received its name†—and who, on account of his extensive influence and usefulness, was familiarly styled "the Patriarch of New England,"—prepared by his almost equally learned and venerable successor, Mr. Norton.

Presuming that readers in general will prefer to receive the work as its author left it, I have retained the obsolete spelling and phraseology, making such alterations only as seemed necessary in order to convey the sense. And I hope none may be deterred from perusing it on account of its antiquated appearance. The sentences, though not constructed according to modern taste, are many

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* Our Fathers distinguished between "Pastors, and Teachers." See Eph. iv. 11. Mr. Wilson was first Pastor of the first church in Boston; and Mr. Cotton first Teacher.

† The Indian name of Boston was Shawmut. By the English settlers, it was first called Tremount, or Trimountain, from its three hills. After the removal of Mr. Cotton, it received the name of Boston, from the place of his former residence in England.

of them weighty in sense. They were evidently written by a man of genius, of thought, of experience, and wisdom. And it requires but little exercise, in order to become reconciled to, and even pleased and interested with, the style.

Whatever of interest I have been able to gather relating to Mr. Cotton, aside from the work before us, also such facts as may tend to illustrate different portions of the work, will be found, either in the margin, or in the appendix, in the form of notes.

As most persons have a curiosity to know something respecting the author, whose pages they read, I shall conclude these prefatory remarks with a short biographical sketch of Mr. Norton.

This excellent man was born at Starford, in Hertfordshire, England, May 6th, 1606. He was admitted to the university when only fourteen years of age, where he continued until he had taken his first degree. On leaving college, he became usher to the school, and curate of the church at Starford, his native place. At this time, a lecture was

maintained there by an association of able and godly ministers—by whose means young Norton, though himself a minister, was awakened from sin, and convinced that he was a stranger to the power and grace of the gospel. A discovery of his exceeding vileness surprised and confounded him, and for a time drove him almost to despair; but at length the same Divine Spirit, whose strivings had filled him with distress, brought him to accept of Christ, and to rejoice in him with unspeakable consolation.

He now gave himself wholly to his ministerial studies and labors, and soon became as distinguished for his powerful and awakening sermons, as he formerly had been for his literary attainments. His accomplishments rendered him a candidate for preferment; but preferments at that period were so clogged with troublesome impositions, that Mr. Norton, like most other conscientious young ministers, declined accepting them. His antipathy to Arminianism, and his dislike of the ceremonies, excluded him from a considerable benefice, to which his uncle might have helped him. Dr. Sibbs, master of Catharine

hall, Cambridge, earnestly solicited him to accept of a fellowship in that college, but his conscience would not permit him to do it. He preferred to continue in a more private course of life, till God should furnish him with unexceptionable opportunities for greater usefulness.

Seeing no prospect, as the times were, of an unobstructed exercise of his ministry in his native land, Mr. Norton formed the resolution of migrating to New England. Accordingly he embarked, in the year 1634, in the same ship with the celebrated Thomas Shepard; but by a violent storm they were driven back, and narrowly escaped with their lives. The next year he renewed his voyage, in company with Gov. Winslow, of the Plymouth colony; and after encountering many difficulties, arrived safely at Plymouth, in October, 1635. He was earnestly solicited to remain at that place; but he preferred a settlement in the Massachusetts colony; and the church in Ipswich made speedy application to him to become their pastor. To this invitation he acceded, and continued his faithful labors with them about sixteen years.

During this period, one William Apollonius, by direction of the clergy of Zealand, sent over to New England a number of questions, relating to our way of church government. The task of replying to these questions devolved upon Mr. Norton; and so successfully did he execute it, as to meet the approbation, not only of his brethren here, but of some of the most learned divines in Europe.*

Mr. Norton was deeply concerned, with several others, in preparing and recommending the Platform of church discipline, agreed to by the synod at Cambridge, in 1648.

A few years later, he was appointed by the general court to write a treatise on the sufferings and atonement of Christ, in answer to a Mr. Pinchin, who had published a work, relating to this subject, which was deemed erroneous.

When Mr. Cotton of Boston was on his death-bed, his church desired that he would

* Dr. Mather supposes that this reply of Norton, with the preface by Cotton, was the first Latin work ever written in New England. Fuller, the English historian, says, "Of all the authors I have perused concerning these opinions, none to me was more informative than Mr. John Norton, one of no less learning than modesty, in his answer to Apollonius."

recommend a fit person to succeed him; and he advised them to apply to Mr. Norton. He was encouraged to give such advice by two considerations, aside from the eminent qualifications of the man. The first was, that the church in Ipswich were favored with the instructions of another excellent minister, Mr. Rogers; and the second, that Mr. Norton was contemplating a return to England, and had already obtained the conditional consent of his people to his departure. Accordingly, after the death of Mr. Cotton, Mr. Norton was applied to become his successor. The church in Ipswich refused to dismiss him, but consented that he should go and labor for the benefit of the church in Boston. Within a few years after, Mr. Rogers died, and the church in Ipswich demanded that Mr. Norton should return; nor could they be brought to consent to his dismission, till they were in a manner compelled to it by the authority of the general court.

During Mr. Norton's continuance in Boston, he was eminently useful, not only among his own people, but by his advice and influ-

ence in all the churches, and in the general affairs of the colony.

Upon the restoration of Charles II., it was thought proper for the colonies to express to him their loyalty, and seek the continuance of their privileges, in a public address; and Mr. Norton and Gov. Bradstreet were sent to England for this purpose. They embarked in February, 1662, and returned in September of the same year, bringing a letter from the king, which, though the most favorable they could obtain, was not altogether satisfactory to many in the colony. Their dissatisfaction with the letter attached also, in some measure, to those who brought it. In particular, it was said by the enemies of Mr. Norton, that "he had laid the foundation of ruine to all our liberties." Conscious that he had served his country in the most faithful manner, these charges grieved and distressed him, and it is supposed with good reason hastened his end. He died suddenly, April 5, 1663; and though he left no child to mourn for him, the tears of some of the best men in the colony bedewed his grave. Bos-

ton was filled with lamentation at the news of his death; and the venerable Richard Mather delivered a sermon at his funeral, which, as Cotton Mather expresses it, was rather *wept* than *preached.*

"Mr. Norton's natural temper," says his biographer, "had a tincture of choler in it; but as the sourest and harshest fruits become the most pleasant, when tempered with a due proportion of sweetness added thereunto, so the grace of God sweetened the disposition of this good man into a most affable, courteous, and complaisant behavior, which rendered him exceeding amiable."

"Vast was the treasure of learning in this reverend man. He was not only an accurate grammarian, but a universal scholar." He was particularly skilled in scholastic divinity —and he employed all his learning to illustrate and enforce the great subject of *salvation by grace.*

In theology, Mr. Norton was a strict Calvinist; and in piety, and devotedness to what he considered the cause of God and his country, he had no superiors. He was re-

markable for the fullness and fervor of his public prayers. "It even transported the souls of his hearers to accompany him in his devotions, wherein his graces would make wonderful sallies into the vast field of entertainments and acknowledgments, with which we are furnished, in the new covenant, for our prayers. I have heard of a godly man in Ipswich," says Mather, "who would travel on foot from Ipswich to Boston, for nothing but the weekly lecture there; and would profess that it was worth the journey, to be a partaker in one of Mr. Norton's prayers."

The publications of Mr. Norton, excepting that which follows, and those which have been already mentioned, were not numerous, but were highly esteemed by Christians of that age. His memory is still precious in our churches; and he is sure to be regarded by succeeding generations as among the venerated Fathers of New England.

MEMOIR, &c.

It is the priviledg of the blessed who lived in heaven, whilst they lived on earth, that they may live on earth, whilst they live in heaven. And 'tis a part of the portion of the saints, that they may enjoy both the life and death of those, who both lived and dyed in the faith. *Life and death are yours.* By faith *Abel* being dead many thousand years since, yet speaketh,* and will speak whil'st time shall be no more.

To suppress an instrument of so much good with silence, were not only unthankfulness to the dead, but an injury to the generation present, and to many an one that is to come. To preserve the memory of the blessed with the spices and sweet odors of their excellencies and wel-

* 1 Cor. iii. 22. Hebrews xi. 4.

doing, recorded to posterity, is a super-*Ægyptian* embalming, and a service which many reasons perswade unto.

This we do as men; glad to rescue and solicitous to preserve any excellency in the sons of mortality, that may outlive death. Desire of continuance in being, is in itself inseparable from being. Dumb pictures of deserving men answer not ingenuous minds capable to retain the memorial of vertue, the real effigies of their spirits. Besides, unhappy emulation, happily expiring with the life of the emulated, we greedily own and enjoy such worthies, when they are not, whom envy in a great degree bereaved us of, whilst they were.

This we do as friends; hence the *Smyrnean* poet of old, he is a true friend, who continueth the memory of his deceased friend. And this is done, not only in love to them, but also in love to ourselves, thereby easing in part our loss, and saving so much of our own lives. He may the better be heard, who reckoned his friend the one half of himself, when *Moses* intimates a friend to be as our own soul. Whilst *Calvin* lives, *Beza's* life is sweet; when *Calvin* dyes, death is the more acceptable unto *Beza.*

This we do as Christians: The deeds of those worthies was the subject matter of the speech of

the saints; these all obtained a good report.* A considerable part of the scripture is a divine testimony of what the faithful have done and suffered, recorded unto succeeding generations, not only as a memorial of them, but as so many practical demonstrations of the faithfulness of God; as so many full and glorious triumphs over the world, sin, and Satan, obtained by persons in like temptations, and subject to like passions with ourselves: A quickening motive unto such who have understanding of the times, not to pretermit those testimonies, the signal presence of God in whom manifests them to have been fore-appointed, for the further compleating of that cloud of witnesses which elevates the beholders thereof, to lay aside every weight that doth so easily beset us, and with the same spirit to run the race that is set before us.

The mystery of God, concerning all the transactions of his eternal purpose upon the theatre of this world throughout the whole time of time, being fully accomplished and revealed, (that of Jesus Christ himself excepted) in none of all the work which he hath gloriously done, will he be admired so much in that day, as in what he hath wrought in the lives and deaths of

* Hebrews xi. 36.

beleevers. The same object is as admirable now as then; that it is not so much admired is, because it is not seen now so much as it shall be then. The greatest object out of heaven is the life and death of such upon earth, who are now in heaven. You may beleeve it, what God hath done for the soul of the least saint of some few years continuance, were it digested into order, would make a volume full of temptations, signes, and wonders: A wonderful history, because a history of such experiences, each one whereof is more than a wonder: No greater acts than their obedience, both active and passive unto the death. The sufferings of the apostles may well be reckoned amongst the acts of the apostles. No greater monuments than their register: to live and die in the faith of Jesus; to do things worthy to be written, and to write things worthy to be done, both is good, and doth good. 'Tis better with *William Hunter*, than with *William* the Conqueror.* 'Tis better to have a name in the book of Martyrs than in the book of Chronicles. Martial conquerors conquer bodies, by destroying. Confessors conquer souls, by saveing. They overcame by the

* William Hunter was a martyr who suffered in England in the reign of queen Mary.—EDITOR.

blood of the Lamb, and the word of his testimony, and loved not their lives unto the death.

Amongst these, as the age that now is (through grace) hath abounded with many worthies, so this eminent servant of God, the subject of our present meditation, may without wrong unto any be placed amongst the first three. Had it pleased the only wise God to have put it into his heart to have imitated *Junius*,* in leaving behind him the history of his own life, how many would have gladly received it, as *Elisha* did the mantle which fell from *Elijah*, when he was caught up and carried from him into heaven: but, Divine Providence otherwise disposing, it remains, that they who have known his doctrine, manner of life, purpose, faith, long-suffering, love, patience, persecutions, and affliction, do not suffer such a light to be hid under a bushel, but put it on a candlestick, that it may give light to them that are in the house.

His birth-place, *Derby*, we shall not detain the reader at, though a scituation in respect o the purity, and frequent agitation of the air, attempered (in the judgment of the orator) for the breeding of better wits. Creatures are in their kind subservient; but, tis God, (not the air)

* Francis Junius, Professor of Divinity, at Leyden, who died 1602.—Ed.

who puts wisdom into the inward parts, and giveth understanding to the heart. As the wise man and the fool die, so are they both ordinarily born, in the same place. The glory of every good and perfect gift is reserved for the Father of lights. Let it be sufficient to acknowledge both the place an honor to the person, and the person an honor to the place. What *Basil* sometime commended in the *Martyrs*, the same is to be looked at in our confessor (or martyr, which you please) namely, that his praise is not to be derived from his country here below, wherein he was born, but from his relation unto that *Hierusalem* which is above, where he was instrumentally born again, according unto grace.

The mercy of a good descent, which the joint-consent of all generations hath always voted not to be the least part of outward happiness, God blessed him with from the womb, his parents being persons of considerable quality, and of good reputation, their condition, as to the things of this life, competent, neither unable to defray the expence of his education in literature, nor so abounding as to be a temptation on the other hand unto the neglect thereof.

Crates the philosopher would needs go unto the highest place of the city and cry in the

audience of all the people, O men! whether go ye? why take ye so much pains to gather riches for your children, and have no care to train them up, who should enjoy them? And *Plutarch* was wont to say, that he would add but this one thing thereunto; that such men as these were, are very like to them who are very careful for the shooe, and take no care for the foot. But God, who had predetermined this then tender plant to be a tree of life for the feeding of many thousands, to be a chosen vessel to bear his name before the nations, in way thereunto inspired his parents with an effectuall sollicitude concerning the ordering of the child in his minority. The Grecians called timous erudition, *Paideia;* the word itself a loud admonition to wise fathers, not to suffer the childish years of their offspring, to pass away without discipline.

Though vain man would be wise, yet may he be compared to the cubb, as well as to the wild asses colt. Now we know the bear, when she bringeth forth her young ones, they are an ill-favored lump, a masse without shape, but by continuall licking, they are brought to some form. Children are called infants of the palms, or educations,* not because they are but a span in length, but because the midwife, as soon as

* Lam. ii. 20.

they are born, stretcheth out their joints with her hand, that they may be more straight afterwards.

This care in the parents was quickly above expectation encouraged in the first-fruits of their young son's proficiency, more and more increasing great hopes concerning him throughout the whole time of his minority, wherein he was trained up in the grammar-school of *Derby*. Three ingredients *Aristotle* requires to compleat a man: an innate excellency of wit, instruction, and government. The two last we have by nature, though in them man is instrumental: the first we have by nature more immediately from God. This native aptitude of mind, which is indeed a peculiar gift of God, the naturalist calls the sparklings and seeds of vertue, and looks at them as the principles and foundation of better education. These, the godly-wise advise such to whom the inspection of youth is committed, to attend unto; as spring-masters are wont to take a tryal of the vertue latent in waters, by the morning-vapors that ascend from them. The husbandman perceiving the nature of the soyle, fits it with suitable seed.

A towardly disposition is worse than lost without education. The first impression sinks deep, and abides long. The manners and

learning of the scholar, depend not a little upon the manners and teaching of the master. Physicians tell us, that the fault of the first concoction is not corrigible by the second; and experience sheweth, that errors committed in youth, through defect of education, are difficultly cured in age. *Mephibosheth* halteth all his life-long, of the lameness he got through his nurses carelessness when he was a child. In the piety of *England's Edward* the sixth, and *Elizabeth*, history ingenuously and thankfully acknowledgeth the eminent influence of their tutors: but amongst the causes of *Julian's* apostacie, the same remembrancer mentioneth it as a principal one, that he had two heathenish masters, *Libanius* and *Iamblicus*, from whom he drank in great prophaneness. The best soil needs both tilling and sowing; there must be culture as well as seed, or you can expect no harvest. What son is he, that the father chasteneth not? And that our daughters may be as corner-stones, palace-stones, and (albeit the weaker vessels, yet) vessels of precious treasure, they must be carved, that is, suffer the cutting, engraving, and polishing hand of the artificer. Since the being of sin, doctrine and example alone are insufficient; discipline is an essential part of the nurture of the Lord. The learned and famous

Melancthon's words are remarkable, speaking of his schoolmaster: I (saith he) had "a master, who was an excellent grammarian: he imposed upon me such and such exercises, not permitting any omission thereof: as often as I erred I was punished, but with such moderation as was convenient. So he made me a grammarian. He was an excellent man; he loved me as a son, and I loved him as a father; and I hope we shall both shortly meet together in heaven: his severity was not severity, but paternal discipline."*

Mans Belial-heart, because such, though it cannot want, yet it will not bear, the yoke of education. Children love not to take physick, though they die without it. The non-acknowledgment hereof, is the denying of our original disease; the rejection of it, is to choose transgression rather than correction. If you ask why the famous *Lacedemonian* state lived and flourished, when their sister-cities of *Greece* fell to dissoluteness, and from thence to confusion; *Xenophon* tells us the reason thereof was, because the *Lacedemonians* established the education of their youth by a law, which the other *Grecians* neglected.† Sure we are, that it is a

* Mel. Adam in vita Melanct.
† Xenophon in lib. de Repub. Lacedem

statute in *Israel*, and a law of the God of *Jacob*, *Fathers bring up your children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.* And unto the training up of a child in the way he should go, faithful is He which hath promised, that when he is old, he will not depart from it.

About thirteen years of age he was admitted into *Trinity*-Colledge in *Cambridge*, much about the age whereat the famous *Juel** was sometimes sent unto *Oxford;* at the hearing of whose lectures afterwards, his sometime tutor *Parkhurst* saluted him with this distich:

> Olim discipulus mihi chare Juelle fuisti:
> Nunc ero discipulus, te renuente, tuus.
>
> Great *Juel*, thou a scholar wast to me:
> Though thou refuse, thy scholar now I'll be.

'Tis not youth, but licentiousness in youth, that unfits for an academical state; such as *Philostratus* long since complained of, who stain an *Athenian* life with wicked manners. The prince of the *Peripatetticks* describing his hearers, distinguisheth between youths in years, and youths in manners: such who are old in days, yet youths in disposition, he rejects: such who are

* John Jewel, Bishop of Salisbury, who defended the English church against Popery. He died 1571.—Ed.

youths in age, but seniors in spirit and behaviour, he admits into his auditory. *Junius* telleth us, that his grandfather was wont to write to his father *Dionysius*, when a student in the universities of *France*, with this salt superscription: *Dionysio dilecto filio, misso ad studendum: To Dionysius my beloved son, sent to study.* Idleness in youth is scarcely healed without a scar in age. Life is but short; and our lesson is longer then admits the loss of so great an opportunity, without a sensible defect afterward shewing itself. Bees gather in the spring, that which they are to live upon in the winter; therefore, *Fox* bishop of *Winchester* willed the students of that colledge, whereof he was a benefactor, to be as so many bees. *Seneca* admonisheth his *Lucilius*, that those things are to be gotten whilst we are young, which we must make use of when we are old.* Accordingly God, who had set apart our student to be a *Junius*, not a *Dionysius*, inclined his heart unto such attractive diligence, and effectual improving of opportunities, whence his profiting in the arts and languages above his equals so far commended him unto the master and fellows, as that he had undoubtedly been chosen fellow of that colledge, had not the extraordinary expence

* Juveni parandum, seni utendum est.

about the building of their great hall at that time put by, or at least deferred, their election until some longer time.

From *Trinity* he was removed to *Emanuel*, that happy seminary both of piety and learning. The occasion I cannot now learn: howsoever, it may call to minde that maxim of the herbalists, *Plantæ translatio est plantæ perfectio;* the transplantation of a plant, is the perfection of a plant. In that society the Lord gave him favor, so that in due time he was honored with a fellowship amongst them, after a diligent and strict examen, according to the statutes of that house. Wherein this is not unworthy the taking notice of; that when the poser came to examine him in the Hebrew tongue, the place that he took trial of him by was that *Isaiah* 3, against the excessive bravery of the *haughty daughters of Sion;* which hath more hard words in it, than any place of the Bible within so short a compass; and therefore, though a present construction and resolution thereof might have put a good Hebrician to a stand, yet such was his dexterity, as made those difficult words facil, and rendred him a prompt respondent. This providence is here remarkable concerning him; that whereas his father (whose calling was towards the law) had not many clients that made

use of his advice in law-matters before, it pleased God after his son's going to *Cambridge* to bless him with great practice, so that he was very able to keep him there, and to allow him liberal maintenance: Insomuch that this blessed man hath been heard to say, ***God kept me in the University.***

He is now in the place of improvement, amongst his ἐφάμιλλοι, beset with examples, as so many objects of better emulation. If he slacken his pace, his compeers will leave him behind; and though he quicken it, there are still those which are before. Notwithstanding *Themistocles* excelleth, yet the trophies of *Miltiades* suffer him not to sleep. *Cato*, that *Heluo*, that devourer of books, is at *Athens*. Ability and opportunity are now met together; unto both which industry, actuated with a desire to know, being joined, bespeaks a person of high expectation. The unwearied pains of ambitious and unquiet wits are amongst the amazements of ages. *Asia* and *Egypt* can hold the seven wonders; but the books, works, and motions of ambitious mindes, the whole world cannot contain. It was an illicit aspiring after knowledge, which helped to put forth *Eve's* hand unto the forbidden fruit: the less marvel if irregenerate and elevated wits have placed their *summum*

bonum in knowledge, indefatigably pursuing it as a kind of deity, as a thing numinous, yea, as a kind of mortal-immortality.

Diogenes, *Democritus*, and other philosophers, accounting large estates to be an impediment to their proficiencie in knowledge, dispossessed themselves of rich inheritances, that they might be the fitter students; preferring an opportunity of study before a large patrimony. *Junius*, yet ignorant of Christ, can want his country, necessaries, and many comforts; but he must excell. Through desire a man having separated himself, seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom, *Prov.* 18. 1. The elder *Plinius* lost his life in venturing too neer to search the cause of the irruption of the hill *Vetruvius*.* 'Tis true, knowledge excelleth other created excellencies, as much as light excelleth darkness: yet it agreeth with them in this, that neither can exempt the subject thereof from eternal misery. Whilst we seek knowledge with a selfish interest, we serve the decree; and self being destroyed according to the decree, we hence become more able to serve the command. The treasure which man irregenerate travelleth for, as in-

* Now called Vesuvius. Pliny was suffocated by the smoke of the mountain, A. D. 79.—Ed.

tending it for himself, man regenerate expends for God.

As he was a lover of labor, so he was communicative, a diligent tutor, and full of students committed to his care. He was a didactical man, both able, and apt to teach. Ability to instruct youth, argueth a wise-man. To guide man, *Nazianzen* accounted the art of arts. To be willing to teach, argueth a good man; good is communicative. Such was his academical dexterity, that he could impart (as *Scaliger* speaks) the felicities of wit to his hearers; so accommodating and insinuating the matter in hand, as his pupils might both perceive their profiting, and taste the sweetness of that wherein they profited. Thus by schoole-stratagems, he won the hearts of his scholars both to himself, and to a desire of learning; they were as *Socrates* and *Alcibiades*;* or rather as the prophets, and the sons of the prophets: his pupils were honorers, and lovers of him; he was a tutor, friend and father unto them.†

The manner of his conversion take in his own words (as neer as can be remembred)

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* Mellific. Historic. par. 1. in Historia Alcibiadis.

† Mather says that Mr. Cotton was Head Lecturer, Dean, and Catechist in his college, and became a tutor to many scholars.—Ed.

thus. During his residence in the university, God began to work upon him under the ministry of Mr. *Perkins** of blessed memory. But the motions and stirrings of his heart which then were, he suppressed; thinking that if he should trouble himself with matters of religion, according to the light he had received, it would be an hindrance to him in his studies, which then he had addicted himself unto. Therefore he was willing to silence those suggestions and callings he had from the Spirit inwardly, and did wittingly defer the prosecution of that work until afterwards. At length, walking in the field, and hearing the bell toll for Mr. *Perkins* who then lay dying, he was secretly glad in his heart, that he should now be rid of him who had (as he said) laid siege to and beleaguer'd his heart. This became a cause of much affliction to him, God keeping it upon his spirit, with the aggravation of it, and making it an effectual meanes of convincing and humbling him in the sight and sense of the natural enmity that is in man's nature against God. Afterwards, hearing doctor *Sibbs*,† (then Mr. *Sibbs*) preaching a sermon about regeneration, where he first shewed what regeneration was not;

* See Appendix, Note A.

† Master of Catharine Hall, Cambridge.—Ed.

when opening the state of a civil man, he saw his own condition fully discovered, which through mercy did drive him to a stand, as plainly seeing himself to have no true grace. All his false hopes and grounds now failed him; and so he lay a long time in an uncomfortable despairing way; and of all things, this was his heaviest burthen, that he had wittingly withstood the meanes and offers of grace and mercy which he found had been tendred to him; till it pleased God to let in some word of faith into his heart, to cause him to look unto Christ for healing, which word (if memory faileth not) was dispensed unto him by doctor *Sibbs;* which begat in him a singular and constant love of doctor *Sibbs*, of whom he was also answerably beloved.

That which first made him famous in *Cambridge*, was his funeral oration for doctor *Some*, master of Peter-house; so accurately performed, in respect of invention, elegancy, purity of style, ornaments of rhetorick, elocution, and oratorious beauty of the whole, as that he was thenceforth looked at as another *Xenophon*, or *Musa Attica*, throughout the University. Some space of time intervening, he was called to preach at St. *Maries*, where he preached an University-Sermon, with high applause of academical wits so

that the fame of his learning grew greater and greater. Afterwards being called to preach in the same place, as one oration of *Pericles* left the hearer with an appetite of another; so the memory of his former accurate exercises filled the colledges, especially the young students, with a fresh expectation of such elegancies of learning, that the curious and Corinthian wits, who prefer the *Muses* before *Moses*, who taste *Plato* more than *Paul*, and relish the orator of *Athens* far above the preacher of the cross, (like *Quintilian's* numerous auditory, sufficient to tempt the abilities of the speaker) flock to the sermon with an *Athenian* itch after some new thing, as to the ornaments of rhetorick, and abstruser notions of philosophy. But his spirit now savoring of the cross of Christ more than of humane literature, and being taught of God to distinguish between the word of wisdom, and the wisdom of words; his speech and preaching was not with the enticing words of man's wisdom, but in the demonstration of the Spirit and of power. The disappointed expectation of the auditory soon appeared in their countenances; and the discouragement of their non-acceptance returned him unto his chamber not without some sadder thoughts of heart. Where he had not been long alone, but lo, doctor *Preston* (then master

Preston) knocks at his door, and coming in, acquaints him with his spiritual condition, and how it had pleased God to speak effectually unto his heart by that sermon: after which, doctor *Preston* ever highly prized him, and both fully and strongly closed with him:* Which real seal of God unto his ministry comforted his soul, far above what the present less-acceptance of the auditory had dejected him, or their former acceptance encouraged him. This brings to mind that celebrated story of the conversion of the Heathen Philosopher at *Nice*, which God wrought by the means of an ancient and pious confessor, plainly declaring unto him the doctrine of faith, after that many Christian Philosophers had by philosophical disputations laboured in vain.† Christ evidently held forth, is divine eloquence, the eloquence of eloquence. God will not have it said of Christ, as *Alexander* said of *Achilles*, that he was beholden to the pen of him that published his acts. 'Tis *Christ* that is preached, not the tongue of the preacher, to whom is due all praise. Such instances conclude, that *Paul* is more learned than *Plato*. We must distinguish between ineptness of speech, carnal rhetorick, and eloquent gospel-simplicity; be-

* See Appendix, Note B. † See Appendix, Note C.

tween ignorance, ostentation, and learning. *The preacher sought to find out acceptable words*, and words of truth.

His *Concio ad Clerum*, when he proceeded bachelor of divinity (after he had been at *Boston* about half a year) was very much admired and commended. His text was *Mat.* 5. 13. *Vos estis sal terræ; quod si sal infatuatus fuerit, quo salietur? Ye are the salt of the earth: but if the salt have lost its savor, wherewith shall it be salted?* In handling of which, both the weight of the matter, elegancie of phrase, rhetorical strains, and grave, sweet, and spiritual pronuntiation, rendred him yet more famous. The like did his answering of the Divinity-Act in the schools, having a very acute opponent, Mr. *William Chappell*, to dispute with him.* So that in *Cambridge* the name of Mr. *Cotton* was much set by.

Unto this earthen vessel thus filled with heavenly treasure, *Boston* in *Lincolnshire* made their address, saying, *Come and help us!* And in that candlestick the Father of spirits placeth this burning and shining light: To whom he removed from *Cambridge*, about the 28th year of

* Dr. Chappell, a zealous Armenian, was afterwards Provost of Trinity College, Dublin.—Ed.

his age. At the first, he met with some obstructions from the diocesan, then bishop *Barloe*, who told him that he was a young man, and unfit to be set over such a divided people. Mr. *Cotton* being ingenuous, and undervaluing himself, thought so too, and purposed to return to the college again: but some of his *Boston* friends understanding that one *Simon Biby* was to be spoken with, who was neer to the bishop, they presently charmed him, and so the business proceeded without further trouble, and Mr. *Cotton* was admitted into the place after their manner in those days.*

Two things are here not unworthy of observation, (which he would sometimes speak of to his friends:) First, that in the beginning of his ministry, he was exercised with some inward troubles which much dejected him. No sooner had Christ received his mission into his publick ministry, but he is led into the wilderness to be tempted of the Devil. Wise *Heman* suffered the horrors of God, and was laid in the lowest pit.† The doctor of the Gentiles stood in need of being buffeted by Satan. The tempter is in Christ's hand, and an instrumental winnower of the disciples. His fiery darts, through the

* See Appendix, Note D. † Ps. lxxxviii. 6.

influence of him who succors those that are tempted, cleanse as well as smart; and this cleansing efficacie remains when the smart is over. From the experience of this archer, are the choise shepherds in Israel. Good spirits are much better'd by their conflicts with the worst of spirits: spiritual preachers are often trained up in the school of temptation: so true is that theological maxim; meditation, prayer, and temptation make a divine.* This dispensation of the all-wise God he afterwards found not only to be beneficial to him, in preparing his heart for his work, but also that it became an effectual means of his more peaceable and comfortable settlement in that place, where the people were divided amongst themselves, by reason of a potent man in the town, who adhered to another *Cambridge*-man, whom he desired to bring in. But when they saw Mr. *Cotton* wholly taken up with his own exercises of spirit, they were free from all suspition of his being pragmatical, or addicted to siding with this or that party, and so began to close more fully with him. And secondly, Whereas there was an Arminian party in that town, some of whom

* Tria faciunt theologum, meditatio, oratio, tentatio.

were witty, and troubled others with disputes about those points, by God's blessing upon his labors in holding forth positively such truths as undermined the foundations of Arminianism, those disputes ceased, and in time Arminianism was no more pleaded for.* So God disposeth of the hearts of hearers, as that generally they are all open and loving to their preachers in their first times: trials are often reserved until afterwards. *Epiphanius* calleth the first year of Christ's ministery the acceptable year. The disciples in their first mission want nothing, and return all safe; but after his death they met with other entertainment, and come short home. Young *Peter* girdeth himself and walks whither he will; but Old *Peter* is girded by another, and carried whither he would not.

For three or four years he lived and preached among them without opposition; they accounted themselves happy (as well they might) in the enjoyment of him, both the town and country thereabout being much bettered and reformed by his labors. After, not being able to bear the ceremonies imposed, his non-conformity occasioned his trouble in the court of *Lincoln*, from

* See Appendix, Note E.

whence he was advised to appeal to a higher court. And imploying Mr. *Leveret** (who afterwards was one of the ruling-elders of the church of *Boston* in *New-England)* to deal in that business, and he being a plain man as *Jacob* was, yet piously subtile to get such a spiritual blessing, so far insinuated himself into one of the proctors of that high-court, that Mr. *Cotton* was treated by them as if he were a conformable man, and so was restored unto *Boston.* (Likewise by the same meanes it was, that a gentleman of *Boston*, called Mr. *Bennet*, used occasionally afterwards to bring him in again.) After this time he was blessed with a successful ministry, unto the end of twenty years: In which space he, on the Lord's-day, in the afternoons, went over the whole body of divinity in a cathechistical way thrice, and gave the heads of his discourse to those that were young schollars, and others in the town, to answer his questions in publick in that great congregation; and after their answers, he opened those heads of divinity, and finally applyed all to the edification of his people, and to such strangers as came to hear him. In the morning on the Lord's-day, he

* A son of this Elder Thomas Leverett was for some years Governor of Massachusetts. His great grandson was chosen President of Harvard College in 1708.—Ed.

preached over the first six chapters of the gospel of *John;* the whole book of *Ecclesiastes*, the prophesie of *Zechariah,* and many other scriptures; and when the Lord's-supper was administred (which was usually every moneth,) he preached upon 1 *Cor.* 11. and 2 *Chron.* 30. *per totum*, and some other scriptures concerning that subject. On his lecture days, he preached thorough the whole first and second Epistles of *John*, the whole book of *Solomon's Song*, and the parables of our Saviour set forth in *Matthew's* Gospel to the end of chapter 16., comparing them with *Mark* and *Luke.* He took much pains in private, and read to sundry young schollars that were in his House, and some that come out of *Germany*, and had his house full of auditors. Afterwards, seeing some inconvenience in the people's flocking to his house, besides his ordinary lecture on the 5th day of the week, he preached thrice more in publick on the week days: on the fourth and fifth days, early in the morning, and on the last day, at three of the clock in the afternoon. Only these three last lectures were performed by him but some few years before he had another famous colleague. He was frequent in duties of humiliation and thanksgiving. Sometimes he was five or six hours in prayer, and opening of the word,

so undefatigable in the Lord's work, so willing to spend and to be spent. He answered many letters that were sent far and near, wherein were handled many difficult cases of conscience, and many doubts cleered to great satisfaction.

He was a man exceedingly loved and admired of the best, and reverenced of the worst of his hearers. He was in great favour with doctor *Williams*, the then bishop of *Lincoln*,* who much esteemed him for his learning, and (according to report) when he was lord keeper of the great seal, went to king *James*, and speaking of Mr. *Cotton's* great learning and worth, the king was willing, notwithstanding his nonconformity, to give way that he should have his liberty without interruption in his ministry, which was the more notable, considering how that king's spirit was carried out against such men. Also, the Earl of *Dorchester* being at *Old-Boston*, and hearing Mr. *Cotton* preaching concerning (if memory fail not) civil-government, he was so affected with the wisdom of his words and spirit, that he did ever after highly account of him, and put himself forth what he could in the time of Mr. *Cotton's*

* Afterwards Archbishop of York.—Ed.

troubles to deliver him out of them, that his *Boston* might enjoy him as formerly; but he found spiritual wickednesses in high places too strongly opposite to his desires.*

About this time he married his second wife, Mris. *Sarah Story*, then a widow.† He was blessed above many in his marriages, both his wives being pious matrons, grave, sober, faithful, like *Euodias* and *Syntyche*, fellow-laborers with him in the gospel. By the first he had no children; the last God made a fruitful vine unto him. His first-born she brought forth far off upon the sea: he that left *Europe* childless, arived a joyfull father in *America*. God, who promiseth to be with his servants when they passe through the waters, having caused him to embrace a son by the way; in memorial whereof he called his name *Seaborn*, to keep alive (said he) in mee, and to teach him if he live, a remembrance of sea-mercies, from the hand of a gracious God. He is yet living, and now entred into the work of the ministry: a son of many prayers, and of great expectation.

The time being now come, wherein God pur-

* See Appendix, Note F.

† His first wife was Elizabeth Horrocks, sister of James Horrocks, a famous minister in Lancashire.—Ed.

posed to superadd unto what had formerly been, a practical and more notable testimony against the intermixing of humane inventions with institutions divine, and to the gospel church-worship and politie in their purity, he in his All-wise providence transplants many of his faithfull servants into this vast wilderness, as a place in respect of it's remoteness so much the fitter for the fuller inquiry after, and free exercise of all his holy ordinances, and together therewith for the holding forth a pregnant demonstration of the consistency of civil-government with a congregational-way. God giveth *Moses* the pattern of the tabernacle in the wilderness. *Ezekiel* seeth the formes of the house in exile. *John* receiveth his revelation in *Patmos*. *Jotham* upon mount *Gerizim* is bold to utter his apologue: and *David* can more safely expostulate with *Saul*, when he is gotten to the top of the hill a far off, a great space between them. The *Parthians*, having learned the art of shooting backwards,* made their retreat more terrible then their onset to their adversaries. The event soon shewed the wisdom of God herein, the people in a short time clearly understanding

* Terga conversi metuenda Parthi.—*Seneca*

that truth in the practice, which by dispute they could not in a long time attain unto. In order hereunto, the God of the spirits of all flesh stirreth up many of his faithful ones to leave that pleasant land, their estates, their kindred, their fathers houses, and sail over the Atlantic-Ocean unto this vast Jeshimon: Amongst whom this choice-servant of God, with many others graciously fitted for such a work, are sent over to set up the worship of Christ in this desart: A service, of which the Apologetical brethren (may we be permitted to transcribe their apprehension thereof) speak thus. "Last of all, we had the recent and later example of the ways and practices (and those improved to a better edition, and greater refinement by all the forementioned helpes) of those multitudes of godly men of our own nation, almost to the number of another nation, and among them some as holy and judicious divines as this kingdom hath bred; whose sincerity in their way hath been testified before all the world, and will be to all generations to come, by the greatest undertaking (but that of our father *Abraham* out of his own country, and his seed after him) a transplanting themselves many thousand miles distance, and that by Sea, into a wilderness, meerly to wor-

ship God more purely, whither to allure them there could be no other invitement."

> Exilium causa ipsa jubet mihi dulcé videri,
> Et desiderium dulce levat patriæ.*
>
> Bereaved Exiles ought not to repine,
> When as the cause presents an Anodine.

The persons spoken of in this transcript, in the recital thereof, distinguish between the act and the agents. This testimony, whilst they crave leave to present it unto the reader in way of defence for their undertaking, so far as to be of God; they are ashamed of themselves the agents, as most unworthy. They here read their duty, what they ought to be; and are not insensible of the goads of the wise, provoking them to be according to their duty: in the mean while confessing and lamenting their too manifest unanswerable walking unto their profession, and their brethren's expectation.

The cause of his departure was this:† The corruption of the times being such, as would not endure his officiating any longer in his station without sin; and the envy of his maligners having procured letters-missive to convent him before the high-commission, which a debauched

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* Beza Eleg. 2.

† See Appendix, Note G.

inhabitant of that town (who not long after died of the plague)* undertook to deliver to him, according as he had already done to some others: Mr. *Cotton* having intelligence thereof, and well knowing that nothing but scorns and imprisonment were to be expected, conformably to the advice of many able heads and upright hearts (amongst whom that holy man, Mr. *Dod* of blessed memory had a singular influence)† he kept himself close for a time in and about *London*, as *Luther* sometimes at *Wittenberg*, and *Paræus* afterwards at *Anvilla*. Neither was that season of his recess unprofitable: but as *Jerom*, retired to his den at *Bethlehem*,‡ was an oracle unto many in his time, so addresses during that interim were made unto him privately by divers persons of worth and piety, who received from him satisfaction unto their consciences in cases of greatest concernment. His flight was not like that of *Pliny's* mice, that forsake a house foreseeing the ruine of it; or of mercenaries, who flie from duty in time of danger: but Providence Divine shutting up the door of service in *England*, and on the other hand opening it in *New-England*,

* See Appendix, Note H. † See Appendix, Note I.
‡ See Appendix, Note J.

he was guided, both by the word and eye of the Lord. And as *David* yielded, upon the perswasion of his men, to absent himself from danger, so he suffered himself to be perswaded by his friends to withdraw from the lust of his persecutors, for the preservation of so precious a light in Israel; after the example of *Jacob*, *Moses*, the prophets which *Obadiah* hid in the caves, *Polycarp*, *Athanasius*,* yea and Christ himself; *When they persecute you in one city, flie unto another.* *Cyprian* implieth, that a tempestive flight is a kinde of confession of our faith; it being an open profession, that our faith is dearer to us then all that we flie from for the defence thereof. It was not a flight from duty, but from evident and regularly evitable danger; not from the evil of persecution, but from the evil of obstruction unto serviceableness. It was not a flight from duty, but unto duty; not from the profession of the truth, but unto a more opportune place for the profession of it.

Thus, this infant and small commonwealth being now capacitated, both in respect of civil and church estate, to walk with God according to the prescript of his word, it was the good hand of the Lord unto his servants, who had

* See Appendix, Note K.

afflicted their souls to seek of him a right way for themselves, their little ones, and their substance, to send unto them (amongst many others) this man of understanding, that might be unto them as eyes in this wilderness. His manner of entrance unto them was with much blessing. For at his first coming, he found them not without some troubles about setling the matters of the church and commonwealth.*

When Mr. *Cotton* (being requested) preaching before the general court *out* of *Haggai* 2. 4. *Yet now be strong, O Zerubbabel, saith the Lord, be strong, O Joshua son of Josedek the High-Priest, and be strong all ye people of the land, saith the Lord, and work; for I am with you, saith the Lord of hosts:* as *Menenius Agrippa* sometimes by his oration healed that then-threatning breach between the fathers and the people of *Rome;*† so, through the Lord's working mightily by this Sermon, all obstructions were presently removed, and the spirits of all sorts, as *one man*, were excited unanimously and vigorously in the work of the Lord from that day. In order whereunto the court considering, that that people of God, all the members of which republick were church-members,

* See Appendix, Note L. † Liv. Histor. lib. 2. cap. 32.

were to be governed conformably to the law of God, desired Mr. *Cotton* to draw an abstract of the judicial laws delivered from God by *Moses*, so far forth as they were of moral (*i. e.* of perpetual and universal) equity. Which he did, advising them to persist in their purpose of establishing a *Theocraty* (*i. e.* God's government) over God's people.* It was an usual thing, henceforth, for the magistrate to consult with the ministers in hard cases, especially in matters of the Lord: yet so, as notwithstanding occasional conjunction, religious care was had of avoiding confusion of counsels. *Moses* and *Aaron* rejoiced, and kissed one another in the mount of God. After which time, how useful he was to *England*, to *N. E.*, to magistrates, to ministers, to people, in publick and private, by preaching, counsel, and resolving difficult questions, all know that knew him, and consequently saw the grace of God so evidently manifested in him. In the course of his ministery in *New-Boston*, by way of exposition, he went through the Old-Testament unto *Isa.* 30., the whole New-Testament once through, and the second time unto the middle of *Heb.* 11. Upon Lord's

* See Appendix, Note M.

days and lecture-days, he preached through the *Acts of the Apostles*, *Haggai*, *Zechary*, *Ezra*, the *Revelation*, *Ecclesiastes*, *Canticles*, the second and third epistles of *John*, the epistle of *Titus*, both the epistles of *Timothy*, the epistle to the *Romans*, with other scriptures: the presence of the Lord being mighty with him, and crowning his labours to the conversion of many souls, and the edification of thousands.* Besides these labours forementioned, he hath many pieces in print, which being well known, need the less to be here enumerated.†

His youth was unstained, whence he was so much the more capable of being an excellent instrument in the church in his after-age. Many do that evil whilst they are young, which makes them unable (at least comparatively) to do so much good when they are old. He must have a good report of them that are without,‡ lest he fall into the reproach and snare of the devil. Satan catcheth at the scandals of such who are in the ministery, as fittest materials to make snares unto the prejudice both of the gospel, and of souls. *Augustine*, to whom God in this

* See Appendix, Note N. † See Appendix, Note O.

‡ 1 Timothy 3. 7.

respect shewed peculiar mercy, upon his (ordinarily) unparallel'd repentance, telleth us, A good life is requisite in respect of ourselves, but a good name is requisite in respect of others.* The gratefulnese of the most excellent liquor unto the stomach depends in part upon the quality of the vessel. We may be good men, if we have a good conscience; but we are not like to do much good, if we have not a good name. Our religion, our report, and our eye, must not be plaid withal. It is a smart admonition mentioned by *Sturmius* in his classical epistles, when upon such an one reading out of *Tully's Offices*, who himself was not of an unblemished life, his hearer objects, *Docet officium, non facit officium;* he teacheth duty, but he doth not do his duty. A divine freedom did open *Samuel's* mouth to testifie against the sins of the people, whilst they were compelled to testifie unto the innocencie of *Samuel.* To be long at sea, and not meet with one storm, is unusual: to live long, and to lead a godly life all-along without offence, is not a little wonder, and a special favor both to ourselves and others.†

* Aug. de bono viduitat. c. 22.

† Miraculi instar vitæ iter, si longum, sine offensione percurrere. Marian. 1. 1. de morte et immortal. cap. 6.

He was a general scholar, studious to know all things the want whereof might in one of his profession be denominated ignorance; and piously ignorant of those things, the nescience whereof made him more learned.* One man is not born to all things. No calling (besides divine requisites) calleth for more abilities, or a larger measure of humane knowledge then the ministery; deservedly therefore is his praise great in all the churches, that he not only gave himself thereunto, but exceeded many that had done virtuously therein. The greater part of the *Encuclopaideia* he excelled in. Those arts which the university requireth such a proficiency from her graduates in, he both digested and refined by his more accurate knowledge of them. He was a good *Hebrician*, in Greek a critick, and could with great facility both speak and write Latine in a pure and elegant Ciceronian stile; a good historian, no stranger to the fathers, councils, or school-men; abundantly exercised in commentators of all sorts. His library was great, his reading and learning answerable, himself a living and better library. Though he was a constant student, yet he had not all his learning out of his books. He was a

* Non necessaria discendo, necessaria ignoramus.—*Sen.*

man of much communion with God, and acquaintance with his own heart, observing the daily passages of his life. He had a deep sight into the mystery of God's grace, and man's corruption, and large apprehensions of these things. It was wont to be said, *Bonus textuarius est bonus Theologus:* A good text-man is a good divine. If you look upon him in that notion, he was an expositor (without offence be it spoken) not inferior to any of this more sublimated age; that great motto so much wondered at, *Labore et Constantiâ*, labor and constancy, containing nothing more then the duty which God hath laid upon every man. Learning (saith *Hierome)** is not to be purchased with silver; it is the companion of sweat and painfulness; of abstemiousness, not of fulness; of continency, not of wantonness: the earth continueth barren or worse, except industry be its midwife. The hen, which brings not forth without uncessant sitting night and day,† is an apt embleme of students. The wiser naturalists who have been serious in improveing, and Christians that have been conscientious to improve or redeem their time, for the more effectual obtaining of their

* Hierom. Apolog. contra Ruffinum.

† Nocte dieque incubando.

end, have distributed the day into certain proportions, setting each apart to his predesigned use: Hence the ancient Grecians appointed the first six hours unto their respective contemplative functions, the rest (say they) call upon us to take care of our health and life.

> Sex horæ tantùm rebus tribuuntur agendis;
> Vivere post illas litera Z monet.

Melancthon sometime commended this distribution of the day unto a great man; that the four and twenty hours being divided into three parts, eight be spent in study, eight in our bed, the rest as our bodily welfare calls upon us. Others give ten hours in the day unto our studies, if strength permits, approving of more according to this division. His diligence was in the third degree most intense, and most exact.* His measure was a glasse of four hours, three of which, he would sometime say, was a schollar's day, and after that rate he spent not a few of his days. He was always an early riser, and in his latter years not eating any supper, he made up the avocations of that day by retiring that time, and the rest of the evening

* Summus diligentiæ gradus est vehementissima, et exactissima diligentia.

to his study. With *Solon*, as he grew old, so was he continually a learner: and with *Quintilian*, he terminated his life and his reading both together. The constant work of his ministry was great, if not too great, for one man. A candle may spend too fast; and the improvement of the light whilst it is yet burning admits of degrees. Besides his preaching in season and out of season, he was daily pressed, if not oppressed, with the care and service of the churches; and with attendance to personal cases, and manifold other imployments inevitably put upon him, both from abroad and at home; whence the time remaining (which is not a little to be lamented) was insufficient to attend doctrinal, and especial polemical scripts, such as the cause of the truth, occurents of providence, and his peculiar engagements called for. He was free to give his judgment when desired, but declined arbitration and umpirage in civil differences between man and man, as *heterogeneus* both to his office and spirit. His course, like that of celestical bodies, was always in motion, but still careful to keep within his proper sphere. *Calvin* was not more sollicitous not to be found idle; no man more vigilant to contain himself within his measure. It was religion to him, both to run, and to run lawfully

within the white lines and boundaries of his agonistical race. He was *doing*, and *so doing*.

Pliny accounted those happy men, who either did things worthy to be written, or wrote things worthy to be read.* Christians account those teachers blessed, and blessings, who teach both by their light, and life, in sincerity. Those which best knew his goins out and comings in, cannot but give a large testimony to his piety. A saint (above many of the saints) manifestly declared in the consciences of the godly amongst whom he walked, to be the *epistle of Christ, known and read of all men.* In his house he walked with a perfect heart. He was an example to the flock, clothed with love and humility amongst his brethren. One of a thousand in respect to his worth; but (as it is reported of Dr. *Whitaker,*) as one of the multitude in respect of his facile and companion-like behaviour. Both ability and modesty in such a degree are not ordinarily to be found in the same man. Others with much affection beheld the beauty of his face, whilst himself was one who knew not that his face shined. He was a father,

* Equidem beatos puto, quibus Deorum mupere datum est aut facere scribenda, aut scribere legenda. C. Pli. Tacit. vol. 1.

friend, and brother to his fellow-elders, and a shining light before men.

As the being of man, so the well-being of humane affairs, depends not a little upon domestick government; whence are the seminaries and first societies of mankinde. He well knew a bishop ought not to be defective in so momentous a duty, incumbent upon all heads of families: he must be one that ruleth well his own house.* In conscience whereof, he himself, rising betimes in the morning, as soon as he was ready, called his family together (which was also his practice in the evening) to the solemn worship of God; reading, and expounding, and occasionally applying the Scripture unto them, always beginning and ending with prayer. In case of sin committed by child or servant, he would call them aside privately (the matter so requiring), lay the Scripture before them, causing them to read that which bare witness against such offence; seldom or never correcting in anger, that the dispensation of godly discipline might not be impured, or become less effectual, through the intermixing of humane passion.

He began the Sabbath at evening; therefore then performed family duty after supper, being

* Bene non regis, si bene non regeris. Bern. epist. 189.

larger then ordinary in exposition, after which he catechised his children and servants, and then returned into his study. The morning following, family-worship being ended, he retired into his study, until the bell called him away. Upon his return from meeting, he returned again into his study (the place of his labour and prayer) unto his private devotion; where (having a small repast carried him up for his dinner) he continued till the tolling of the bell. The publick service being over, he withdrew for a space to his prementioned oratory, for his sacred addresses unto God, as in the forenoon; then came down, repeated the sermon in the family, prayed, after supper sung a psalm, and towards bed-time, betaking himself again to his study, he closed the day with prayer. Thus he spent the Sabbath continually.

In his study, he neither sate down unto nor arose from his meditations without prayer; whilst his eyes were upon his book, his expectation was from God. He had learned to study, because he had learned to pray: an able student, a gospel-student, because unable to study without Jesus Christ. The barrenness of his meditation at some times, yea, though his endeavours were most intense upon a good matter, convinced him whence it was, that his heart,

musing upon the same subject at another time, his tongue became as the pen of a ready writer. As he was not (comparatively) wanting in parts, learning, or industry, so was he more careful not to trust in them, but to fix his dependence totally upon God: Herein not unlike unto *Bradford*, of whom we read, that he studied kneeling. Another *Synesius*,* who was wont to divide his life between prayer, and his book. Like unto *Paul*, not sufficient of himself to think any thing as of himself, and professing all his sufficiencie to be of God. *But we will give our selves continually to prayer, and to the ministry of the word.* Men of labour, and men of prayer.

As any weighty cause presented it self, either in the church, commonwealth, or family, he would set days apart to seek the face of God in secret; such were the bowels of this spiritual father, the horsemen and chariots of this Israel. He might say with *Paul*, he was in fastings often. His conversation upon earth was a trading in heaven; a demonstration of the praises of him who had called him; a practical and exemplary ministery of grace unto the hearer and beholder; a temperature of that holiness, sweetness, and love, which continually gained

* See Appendix, Note P.

upon the hearts of many spectators. The habitual gracious scope of his heart in his whole ministery is not illegible in that usual subscription of his at the end of all his sermons, *Tibi, Domine*, unto thy honor, O Lord! *

As disputation is well called the sieve of truth,† so in his polemical labors he was a seeker thereof in love; his scope was the glory of God, unity of the churches, and the edification of men, not the ostentation of wit. It was his holy ambition not to seem to be learned, but indeed to be bettered: a sincere seeker of light, not of victory. Witness his brotherly acceptance of Dr. *Twisse*‡ his examination of Mr. *Cotton's* treatise of predestination; from whom he acknowledged that he received light thereby, and was ready to attest the great abilities of the Doctor, that star (if any of this age) of the first magnitude. 'Tis true, Mr. *Cotton's* mind was then exercised concerning the point of reproba-

* I here omit two Poems, entitled, "A thankful Acknowledgment of God's Providence," and "Another Poem made by Mr. Cotton (as it seemeth) upon his removal from Boston to this Wilderness," and I do it because, as a versifier, if we may judge from these specimens, it may truly be said that Mr. Cotton was not distinguished.

† Cribrum veritatis.

‡ Dr. Twisse was prolocutor or president of the Westminster Assembly. He was a Calvinist of "the straitest sect."—Ed.

tion; touching the point of election, 'tis sufficiently known he was not only orthodox, but also clear. As there were of old that pretended the predestinarian heresie to have had its rise from *Austin;* and *Grevinchovius* of late blushed not to say of the famous Dr. *Ames,* that *Arminianorum malleus, Amesius Pelagianizat, Ames* Pelagianizeth;* so the wonder is less, if this sound and judicious divine hath not escaped the imputation of Arminianism from some, notwithstanding the redundant testimony of his doctrine, and generally of all that knew him, to the contrary; yea, that occasionally he hath been heard to say by testimony yet alive, and above exception, that he looked at Arminianism as another gospel, and directly contrary to the tenor of the covenant of grace. What *Melancthon* (our ordinary parallel) sometimes said of himself to *Eccius,* may here be truly applied to him: Mr. *Cotton* in his disputations sought not his glory, but God's truth.† So able an opponent was rare; so candid an opponent more rare. He that fell into his hands was likely to fall soft enough ordinarily (except through his own default) not likely to lose any thing besides his error.

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* See Appendix, Note Q.

† Mi Doctor, non quæro meam gloriam in hoc negotio, sed veritatem.

A man's wisdom maketh his face to shine. He had a happy, a quick, comprehensive, and benign understanding, as having received the manifestation of the Spirit, for the service and profit of others. To discover the mind of God, and therewith the sentence of judgment, in matters too hard for inferior judges, was no small part both of the worth and usefulness of him that was to minister before the Lord. The Queen of *Shiba* proved *Solomon* with hard questions. There is scarce any gift that more approximates the receiver unto that which the learned call a divine, then an ability in some measure to send away religious casuists, as the wise-man did that renowned questionist, which communed with him of all that was in her heart. 'And *Solomon* told her all her questions; there was not any thing hid from the king that he told her not.' It seemed good unto the Father of lights to make this happy instrument, not only to excell his brethren, but in many respects, upon this account, to excell himself: a grace so far acknowledged in him, as that all sorts, both the magistrate and private persons, learned and unlearned, exercised with their respective cases of conscience, waited under God in special manner upon his lips for knowledge, and sought the law at his mouth. Hear to this purpose the

testimony of Mr. *Davenport*, that eminent and reverend man of God, the faithful pastor of the church at *New-Haven*, (a witness above many) in his own words, as followeth:

"His forced flight from *Boston* to *London* for his safety, from pursuit of the pursevants sent to apprehend him, I well remember; and admire the special providence of God towards myself and some others in it, amongst whom safe retirement and hiding places were provided for him, in and about London.* For some of us agreed together to improve that opportunity for a conference with him, about the grounds of his judgment and practice, whereby the Church was in danger to be deprived of him, and of the benefit of his precious gifts, hoping that God might blesse the same, for the communicating of further light, either to him or to us. Two points were the principal subject of our discourse. 1. Touching the limitation of church-power to matters commanded, not to things different. 2. Touching the office of bishops, whether the scripture-bishops be appointed to rule a diocesse, or a particular congregation. The discussing of these caused much debate between us about the meaning and extent of the second commandment, both in the negative and the affirma-

* See Appendix, Note R.

tive part of it, and a diligent examination of what had been printed in defence of conformity to the ceremonies imposed, *viz.* Mr. *Wheatlies* arguments in his Care-cloth, Mr. *Byfield's* on 1 *Pet.* 2. 13. and others, with such arguments as were either produced, or invented, and urged by any of our selves: unto all which he answered with great evidence of Scripture light, composedness of mind, mildness of spirit, constant adhering to his principles, and keeping them unshaken, and himself from varying from them by any thing spoken *ad oppositum.* When I observed that all this he did, not in speech only, but also in sundry writings (the copies whereof I have) without the help of any book but the Scriptures, wherein he was mighty; and yet matters that required variety of reading, whether for confirmation of the truth, or confutation of the contrary, fell frequently into discourse *inter partes;* I admired God's presence with him, and assistance of him, quickening his apprehension and invention, strengthening his memory, composing his mind, and governing his spirit far beyond what I had taken notice of in any man before him. The reason of our desire to confer with him rather than any other touching these weighty points, was our former knowledge of his approved godliness, excellent learning, sound

judgment, eminent gravity, candor, and sweet temper of spirit, whereby he could placidly bear those that differed from him in their apprehensions. All which and much more we found, and glorified God in him, and for him."

So equal a contention between learning and meekness is seldom visible in any one person. Of *Moses* we thus read, Now the man *Moses* was very meek, above all the men that were upon the face of the earth. The consciences of those that knew him appealed to, he will be acknowledged amongst the meekest of the earth in his days. I am forced here to make a pause: so conspicuous was this grace in him, that multitudes beheld it, not without making extraordinary mention thereof. 'Tis true, he had an advantage above many in his natural constitution, and its influence from his education, heightned intellectuals, and moralities, was not inconsiderable; but that which gave the being of meekness, which sanctified and perfected all, was the grace of Christ. He was of an acute apprehension, therefore easily sensible of, but so little in his own spirit that he was not easily provoked by, an injury. Sensibleness of dishonor done to God by sin, or of what the offender had done unto himself by sinning, left such impressions upon him, as that any injury done

unto himself, was not usually taken notice of. He had well learned that lesson of *Gregory*, It is better oftentimes to flie from an injury by silence, then to overcome it by replying.* It was *Grynæus'* manner to revenge wrongs with Christian taciturnity. *Melancthon* overcomes *Luther's* anger, and his own grief, with mildness, patience, and prayer. The non-resistance and softness of the wooll breaks the force of the cannon, and so saveth both the bullet and it self. If inferiors expostulated unnecessarily with him, he would patiently hear them, and give them a brotherly account, pacifying their minds with a gentle, grave, and respective answer. Take one instance of that kind instead of many; unto one of his hearers then sick of singularities, and less able to bear sound doctrine, following him home after his public labors in the assembly, and instead of better encouragement, telling him that his ministry was become either dark, or flat; he gently answered, *Both, brother!* without further opening his mouth in his defence, choosing rather to own the imputation, then to expostulate with the imputer.†

Disputations are great trials of the spirits of

* Gloriosus est injuriam tacendo fugere, quàm respondendo superare.

† See Appendix, Note S.

intelligent men. *Hooper* and *Ridley* were patient martyrs, yet somewhat impatient disputers. The synod held at *Cambridge*, as matters were then circumstanced, was unto this good man an hour of temptation, above what ordinarily had befallen him in his pilgrimage; yet such was his eminent behaviour throughout, as argued in the conscience of the spectators singular patience, and left him a mirror for the temperament, mildness, and government of his spirit. Pious meekness fits for church-society. It was he, than whom was not a meeker man upon earth, who continued Israel in church-communion, and continued in communion with Israel, notwithstanding their manners in the wilderness. To institute and preserve instrumentally church-communion, gospel-fellowship, society, and purity, in the exercises that accompanied the removal of (as it were) a nation out of a nation, change of ecclesiastical government, with the many temptations of this desart, called for another *Moses:* neither the spirit of separation nor pollution can attain it. To hold communion with men that are sinners, without having communion with their sin, is the only sociable spirit. To extend communion where the rule commands, and to deny communion where the rule forbids, qualifieth us to live with God and man.

They that are strong ought to bear the infirmities of the weak. Pillars must be bearers, else the building falls. The infirmities of the weak brethren are the trials and burdens of those which are strong. It fareth ill with the little one, when then the frowardness of the child exceeds the patience of the nurse. Those things in nature which cannot suffer, cannot mixe. Timber that will not endure cutting, is unfit for jointing. The sword that is good metal will bow to the hilts, and yet come strait again. No metal more solid then gold, no metal more yielding under the hammer. The same heaven hath the name of firmament for its stability, and of the expanse for its being stretch'd out like a curtain, and compassing about the residue of the creation. The sinews, which are the members of most strength, are also members flexible every way, for the better motion of the whole body. Denial of regular communion, is injurious to the body. Rigor is schismatical, indulgence is defiling; both are scandalous and destructive. Piety and meekness preserve the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. *Eocius* sometimes acknowledged unto *Melancthon*, that his mildness, and *Pontanus* his good language, had been very beneficial to the Protestant cause. Yet, though he was so gentle, meek, and flexible,

that men might perswade him above what could be usually expected from men of his worth; in the things of God he was stedfast and unmoveable. *Moses*, the meekest of men, in the cause of God, would not yield in the least: *Our cattel also shall go with us, there shall not an hoof be left behind. Paul*, who pleaseth all men in all things, in a matter fundamental giveth not place, no not for an hour. Charity so endureth all things, as that the church of *Ephesus* is commended because she cannot suffer those that do evil. *Melancthon's* milde nature, when spiritualized and quickned by grace, drew forth the commendation of an enemy; but being left unto it self, gave occasion to his friend to complain. And here, saith Mr. *Brightman*, (relating to the springing and spreading gangrene of consubstantiation,) I find thee wanting, O holy *Philip!** *Luther* at times is too angry; *Melancthon* sometimes is too remiss. The anger of the old-man is a sin; the anger of the new-man is a duty. *Jacob* curseth the anger of the patriarchs; God blesseth the zeal of *Phineas*. The sanctuary cannot want the fire which is from heaven; neither may it be touched with the fire which is from hell. Gentleness of dis-

* Quinetiam tuam fidem & diligentiam, sancte Philippe, desidero.—Brightman in Apoc. cap. 3

position, when actuated by Christ, makes us so much the more acceptable and profitable unto man; but if the Spirit withdraweth his assistance, we fall short of reaching God's ends, and the seasonable suppression of exorbitancie. In which respect, if this good man had always had that voice sounding in his heart, which one wished that mild Lantgrave of *Hessen* might have heard from the smith's forge, *(Duresce, duresce, utinam & Lantgravius durescat!)* haply there are, that think some disorders, disturbances, and irregularities, might have been prevented by God's blessing.

But ordinarily, and in matters of greatest weight, the Lord was with him. Though his forbearance was both observable and very imitable in the things that concerned himself, yet he could not forbear them whom he knew to be evil. An experience whereof we saw concerning some heterodox spirits, who by their specious discourses of free-grace, and subdolous concealings of their principles, so far deceived him into a better opinion of them than there was cause, as that, notwithstanding they fathered their errors upon him in general, and abused his doctrine to the countenancing of their denial of inherent grace in particular, yet he was slow to believe these things of them, and slower to bear

witness against them. But so soon as the truth herein appeared to him, hear his own words taken out of his letter written to Mr. *Davenport.* "The truth is (saith he) the body of the island is bent to backsliding into error and delusions: The Lord pity and pardon them, and me also, who have been so slow to see their windings, and subtile contrivances, and insinuations in all their transactions, whilst they propagated their opinions under my expressions, diverted to their constructions." Yea, such was his ingenuity and piety, as that his soul was not satisfied without often breaking forth into affectionate bewailing of his infirmity herein, in the publick assembly, sometimes in his prayer, sometimes in his sermon, and that with tears.*

He was a man of an ingenuous and pious candor, rejoicing (as opportunity served) to take notice of, and testifie unto, the gifts of God in his brethren, thereby drawing the hearts of them to him, and of others to them, both to their encouragement, and the edification of many. He did not think himself a loser by putting honor upon his fellow-elders, but was willing they should communicate with him in the esteem and love of the people. He was not only a son of peace, enjoying the continual feast of a good

* See Appendix, Note T.

conscience, with serenity and tranquillity of affections at home; but also a peace-maker, qualified by the graces forementioned to be a choice instrument in the hand of the Prince of peace, amongst the churches: Where, if any differences arose, he was ready (being called thereunto) to afford his help for the composing of them, and had a singular faculty and ability therein, by that excellent wisdom, and moderation of spirit, which God in Christ had given him, whose blessing also did ordinarily crown his endeavours with good success.

He was one, the reality of whose profession gave cause unto many to blesse the Author of the Christian religion, for the kindness of the Lord shewed unto all sorts by him; his portion in the things of this life exempted him from being an object of envy in that behalf. But yet behold, *quantum ex quantillo*, so much communicated out of so little; we may not here be altogether silent, concerning the grace of God bestowed upon him, whereby to his power, yea above his power, he was beneficent unto others, but especially to those of the houshold of faith. The gospel opened his heart, his lips, and the doors of his house. A bishop then must be given to hospitality, apt to teach: as we have seen him didactical, so you shall find him hos-

pital. He well remembered, that there is that scattereth, and yet increaseth; and there is that withholdeth more then is meet, but it tendeth to poverty. *The liberal soul shall be made fat.* Among others, his fellow-laborers in the ministry were entertained with peculiar contentment. To reminde all instances would take up time; by some of many, take his spirit in the rest. So it was: a minister (to spare his name) which had gotten into the fellowship of that eminent man, Mr. *Arthur Hildersham* (and many other godly preachers, being acquainted with their secrets) betrayed him into the prelate's hands; who coming to *Boston*, and meeting with Mr. *Cotton*, this *Gaius* had not the heart to speak to him, nor to invite him unto his house; which he said, he never did to his knowledg unto any stranger before, much less to any of his own order. It was the modesty of others, not from any deficiencie in him, why the proverb occasioned by that Corinthian was not applicable also unto his dwelling: *There is always some body at Sidon's house; Semper aliquis in Cydonis domo.* Some years since, there was brought unto *Boston* a report of the necessity of the poor saints at *Sigatæa*, a little church (whereof the reverend Mr. *White* then was, and yet is their faithful pastor) which suffered much ex-

tremity by reason of the persecution of their then prevailing adversaries, forcing them from *Barmudas* into the desart-continent. The sound of whose distress was no sooner heard of, but you might have heard the sounding of his bowels, with many others, applying themselves unto a speedy collection, and transporting it to them on purpose for their seasonable relief; when, after the example of the churches in *Galatia*, *Macedonia*, *Corinth*, and *Rome*, sending their liberalities unto *Jerusalem* in the days of the famine foretold by *Agabus*, the same grace abounding in the churches of these parts, they supplied them to the value of about seven hundred pounds; two hundred pounds whereof were gathered in the church of *Boston*, no man in the contribution exceeding, and but one equalling the bounty of their then teacher.* It is here remarkable, that this collection arrived there the very day (or thereabouts) after those poor people were brought to a personal division of that little meal then remaining in the barrel, and not seeing, according to man, but that after the eating thereof they must die a lingering death for want of food; and the same day that their pastor preached to them (it being the

* See Appendix, Note U.

Lord's day) out of *Psal.* 23. 1. *The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want.* At such a time the good hand of the Lord brought this succor to them from afar. To give quickly, doubleth; but to give to the saints in a time of need, trebleth the gift.

Whilst he was in *England,* his eminent piety, success of his labors, interest in the hearts of both superiors, inferiors, and equals, drew much envy upon him; and his non-conformity added thereunto, delivered him in a great degree unto the will of his adversaries; whose hour and the power of darkness being come, spared not to shoot at him, and grieve him; not giving over until they had bereaved him of much of his livelihood, his liberty, country, and therewith of the sweet society of lovers, friends, and many ways endeared acquaintance, much more precious to him then life it self. Yet the measure of the afflictions of Christ in this kind appointed to be suffered by him in the flesh, was not fulfilled. But lo, in the time of his exile, some brethren, (we do not say they were not of us, being willing to hope better things,) provoked by the censure of authority, though justly, and not without tears inflicted upon them, single out him as a chief object of their displeasure; who,

though above other men declining irregular and unnecessary interesting of himself in the actions of the magistrate, and (while opportunity lasted) endeavouring their healing, yet must now be requited evil for good, and that by some of them who were formerly companions with him in the tribulations of this *Patmos*. Respecters of him had taken sweet counsel together, and walked in the house of God as friends. Hence is he with pen and tongue blasphemed by them, for whom he formerly intreated, and for whom he both then and afterwards wept and put on sackcloth. Such buffetings of Satan, though sharp, are medicinal at times to the excellent upon earth, who by reason of the body of death indwelling, must be kept weak, that they may be made strong. Since this time also some reverend, learned, and godly men (haply in zeal against the Congregational-way) sharpened their style against him. There is an excess in too much salt, and not a little to be complained of in personal and causeless aspersions from good men. That smarts, these defile; that makes less comfortable, these tend to make us unprofitable. Roses are not without their pricks. The archers have sorely grieved him, and shot at him, and were displeased with him; but his bowe abode in strength, and the arms of his hands were made

strong by the hands of the mighty God of *Jacob*. From thence is the shepherd, and the stone of Israel. An honest-minded man (saith *Xenophon)* gets by enmity; and *Plutarch* writes a treatise concerning benefiting by our enemies,* adorning his discourse with that of *Jason* of *Thessaly*, whose enemy stabbing him, and intending his death, only opened an ulcer, otherwise incurable, and so saved his life. If men without God in the world, having only star-light, and scarce so much as seeing men walk like trees, only feeling after the Lord, have thus spoken; we see the greater encouragement why Christians, who are made light by the Father of light, and know Him that is love, may (through grace) not only speak better, but also practise accordingly. *Job* can turn the book written against him by his adversaries into a crown. *Joseph*, feeling the benefit of the patriarchs' unkindness, is the more readily disposed to forgive that wrong, whereby he finds himself made a great gainer. He was a good accomptant, who esteemed the reproaches of Christ greater riches then the treasures of Egypt. *Paul* takes pleasure in reproaches for Christ's sake. The best and most peaceable spirits cannot hope to fulfill

* Plutarch de capienda ex hostibus utilitate libellus.

their course in a pacifique sea. The way of the most excellent lieth through evil report and good report, through honor and dishonor. To avoid the fouler part of the passage, is not in the power of man: to walk clean through it, to do well, and approve himself as a minister of Christ in suffering ill, is all that can be expected from a man of God. *Erasmus* acknowledging some men to do well in some things, will have *Hierom* to excell in all.* It was a great encomium which the German *Phenix* sometimes gave to *Luther:* I (saith he, speaking of himself) am a logician, *Pemeranus* is a grammarian, *Justus Jonas* is an orator; but *Luther* is all. Let it suffice to be said of Mr. *Cotton*, that he was a famous light in his generation, a glory to both *Englands*, and such an one, in whom was so much of what is desireable in man, as is rarely to be seen in one person.

As concerning any tenet wherein he may seem singular, remember he was a man, and therefore to be heard and read with judgment, and haply sometimes with favour. *Hierom* makes a difference between reading the writings of the apostles, and the tractates of other au-

* In hoc uno συλλήβδην ut aiunt, conjunctum fuit, eximium fuit, quicquid in aliis per partes miramur.—Erasm. epist. nuncupat. præfixa tom. 3. epist. Hieron.

thors:* They (saith he) always spake the truth; these, as men, in some things erre. Let him but receive with some proportion to the measure that he gave, and he will be found no debtor upon that account: no man did more placidly bear a dissentient. The Jews unto their own question, Why *Asa* and *Iehoshaphat* removing the idols in high places took not also away the brazen serpent, give this answer: *The fathers left a place for Hezekiah to exercise his zeal.* That great conqueror, Alexander, vainly feared, that his father *Philip's* victories would deprive the son of an opportunity to improve his magnanimity. Much of the wisdom of God, both in the Scripture and creature, is still unseen; and it hath been judged but meet, that each age should contribute somewhat toward the fuller discovery of truth. But this cannot be, except men of a larger acumen, and greater industry, may be permitted to communicate their notions; especially whilst (as *Austin* in his time) they use this liberty by way of disquisition, not of position; rather as indagators of scripture-light, then as dictators of private opinions.† A pro-

* Scio me aliter habere apostolos aliter reliquas tractatores, &c.—Hier. ep. to. 2. ep. tua.

† Non tanquam affirmator, sed tanquam scratator.—Aug. Psal. 85.

phet may be heard, whilst he speaks with a spirit subject to the prophets.*

These are the times that passed over him: we are now approaching to his *novissima verba*, his last words; which the antients, out of an opinion that the soul became more divine towards its dissolution, looked at as oraculous. The motions of nature are more intense, as they draw neer towards the centre. *Xenophon* personates *Cyrus* as inspired, whilst he bequeathes his fatherly and farewell counsels to his people, friends, and sons. *David's* last words have their emphasis, because his last:—now these are the last words of *David.*

Being called to preach at a neighbor-church, he took wet in his passage over the ferry, and not many hours after he felt the effect, being seized upon with an extreme illness in the sermon. This providence, when others, bewailing the sad event which according to second causes seemed so easily evitable, spake variously of, he comforted himself from—In that he was found so doing. *Decet imperatorem stantem cadere;* It is the honor of a commander to fall standing. It was *Austin's* usual wish, that Christ when he came might find him *aut precantem, aut predi-*

* See Appendix, Note V.

cantem, either praying, or preaching. *Calvin* returns this answer unto his friends, disswading him from his labor of dictating and writing, when his sickness prevailed upon him; What (saith he) would you that the Lord should find me idle?* After a short time he complained of an inflammation of the lungs, and thereupon found himself asthmatical, afterwards scorbutical, (which both meeting in a complicated disease, ended his days) insomuch that he was forced to give over those comforting drinks which his stomack could not but want. If he stil used them, the inflammation grew insufferable, and threatned a more sharp and speedy death: If he left them, his stomack forthwith ceased to perform its office, leaving him without hope of life. By these messengers he received the sentence of death, yet in the use of means attending the pleasure of him in whose hand our times are, his labors continued whilst his strength failed. *November* 18, he took in course for his text the four last verses of the 2d epistle to *Timothy*, *Salute Prisca and Aquila*, *&c.* giving the reason of speaking to so many verses together, because otherwise, he said, he should not live to make an end of that epistle. He

* Quid ergo (inquiebat) vultis me otiosum à domino deprehendi?—In vit. Cal.

chiefly insisted upon those words, *Grace be with you all*, so ending that epistle and his lectures together. For upon the Lord's day following, he preached his last sermon upon *John* 1. 14. *And the Word was made flesh, and dwelt among us, (and we beheld his glory, as of the only begotten Son of the Father,) full of grace and peace.*

Now, he gave himself wholly to prepare for his dissolution, making his will, and setting his house in order.* When he could no more be seen abroad, all sorts, magistrates, ministers, neighbors, friends far off, and those neer at hand, especially his own people, resorted unto him daily, as to a publique father. When the neighbor ministers visited him (in which duty they were frequent) he thanked them affectionately for their love, exhorting them also, as an elder and a witness of the sufferings of Christ, to feed the flock; encouraging them, that when the chief shepherd shal appeare, they should receive a crown of glory, that fadeth not away. Finding himself to grow weake, according to that of *James*, he sent for the elders of the church of *Boston* to pray over him: which last solemne duty being performed, not without much affec-

* See Appendix, Note W.

tion and many tears, then (as *Policarp* a little before his death said, he had served Christ fourscore and six years, neither had he ever offended him in any thing*) so he told them, through grace he had now served God forty years, it being so long since his conversion: throughout which time, he had ever found him faithful to him. Thereupon taking occasion to exhort them unto like effect that *Paul* sometimes did the elders of *Ephesus*, a little before they were to see his face no more: *Take heed therefore unto yourselves and to all the flock, over which the Lord hath made you overseers, to feed the church of God, which he hath purchased with his own blood.* Particularly he lamented the love of many, yea, and some of their own congregation, growing cold to the ordinances; calling upon them so much the more for their watchfulness in that respect. Which done, he thanked them for their brotherly and loving assistance to him in their holy fellowship, and commended them to the blessing of God.

It remains that we now behold his pious consort, with those olive-plants that sate lately about his table, gathered together about the bed of a departing husband, and dying father. This was

* Octoginta sex annos illi servio, nec me ulla in re læsit unquam.—Euseb. lib. 4. cap. 15.

his ultimate solemne transaction with man in this world; silver and gold (though he wanted not) he had not much to give them, but the benediction of a righteous parent they are to expect. *Æneas'* words to his *Ascanius* are fitted to his lips,

> Disce puer virtutem ex me, verúmque laborem.
> Fortunam ex aliis.*———

"Sons, piety and industry learn of me; the way to greatness in this world is to be learned of others."

Antiquity treasured up the counsels of dying parents, as so many oracles. *Isaac* is sollicitous to blesse, and his sons desirous to be blessed, before his death. The father of the faithful his commanding of his children after him to keep the way of the Lord, is a means whereby God brings upon *Abraham* that which he had spoken of him. *Solomon*, who remembers the prophesie that his mother taught him, surely hears that charge of his father still sounding in his ears, *And thou, Solomon, my son, &c.* I know his children whom he instrumentally blessed, shall be blessed in their relation, in these charges, commands, counsels, blessins, whilst they walk in the way of their father, and keep the memory

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* Æneid. 12.

of his example, and his endeavors relating to them, in the repository of a pure conscience.

> Audit parœis, ergo nil beatius;
> In patre vivit gnatus, in gnato pater.

What family more happy then his, whilst the father liveth in the children, as the children live in their father. That reverend and godly man Mr. *Wilson*, (who excelleth in love, as Mr. *Cotton* did in light,) the faithful pastor of the church, taking his leave of him, and most ardently praying unto God that he would lift up the light of his countenance upon him, and shed his love into his soul; he presently answered him in these words: *He hath done it already, brother.*

His work now finished with all men, perceiving his departure to be at hand, and having nothing to do, only that great work of dying in the Lord, he totally composed and set himself for his dissolution, desiring that he might be permitted to improve the little remnant of his life without any considerable impediment to his private devotions, and divine soliloquies between God and his soul. For that end, he caused the curtains to be drawn; and a gentleman and brother of the congregation that was much with him, and ministred unto him in his sickness, to

promise him, that the chamber should be kept private. But a while after, hearing the whispering of some brethren in the room, he called for that gentleman, saying, Why do you break your word with me? An expression so circumstanced, as that the impression thereof abideth unto this day in the heart of that godly man, whose omission gave him occasion so to speak. Not long after (mindful no doubt of that great helpfulness which he received from that forementioned brother throughout his visitation) he left him with this farewel: *The God that made you, and bought you with a great price, redeem your body and soul unto himself.* These words were his ἐξώδια ῥήματε, his last words, after which he was not heard to speak, but lying some hours speechless, quietly breathed out his spirit into the hands of him that gave it, *December* 23, 1652, between eleven and twelve (after the bell had called to the lecture, thus preventing the assembly in going to see, what they were but going to hear) being entred into the sixty and eighth year of his age. So ceased this silver-trumpet, waiting for the sound of the last trump. The eyes of his dead body were soon closed; but before that, the eye of his ever-living soul beholds the face of Jesus Christ.

Upon the 29th day, the body was interred

within a tomb of brick, a numerous confluence of all degrees, from all parts, as the season would permit, orderly accompanying the corpse, borne upon the shoulders of his fellow-ministers unto the chambers of death; not only with sighs and tears, and funeral-poems,* all in abundance, but with the solemnity of sorrow of heart itself, alas! too manifest in the carriage and countenance of those, whose visage was as the visage of them which are bereaved of the breath of their nostrils. The inhabitants of the land might have said, *This was a great mourning.* Such were *New-England's* tears for the man of their desires; of whom they (and especially his own congregation) cannot speak without lamentation unto this day,—

—— Fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium:
New-England was, and flourished.

Now our candlesticks cannot but lament in darkness, when their lights are gone; and the thrones of *David* mourn, that so many of our late worthies can be seen there no more: our desiderable men that remain, remove from us, and few they are who return again. And as for those that rise up amongst ourselves, such is the portion of this Jerusalem, (that though for her

* See Appendix, Note X.

time she hath not been an unfruitful mother, yet) they are but few that will guide her amongst all the sons which she hath brought forth, yea, very few that take her by the hand of all the sons which she hath brought up. Thus are our trials increased, and our strength decreased, that we might learn to trust in God. What the counsel of the Lord is concerning the bereaved churches of *New-England*, is a solemn and awful meditation.

The non-considering that the righteous are taken away from the evil to come, was a symptomatical and threatening incogitancie in *Isaiah's* days. Sure we are that *Iosiah* was gathered unto his fathers, that he might not see the evil that was to come upon Jerusalem. *Augustine* is taken out of the world, before *Hippo* is taken by the *Vandals*. *Parœus* is gotten to his better country, before *Heidelbergh* and the *Palatinate* are delivered into the power of the enemies. Whatsoever it be, we may not here silence that monitory* apparition in the heavens that appeared about fourteen days before, and according to the report of some observers thereof was not seen here, after this man of God was taken from amongst us. It was a profane jest of *Ves-*

* O quantum dilecte Deo, cui militat æther.

pasian, who seeing a bearded comet, said, This prodigie belongs to the king of *Parthia* that wears long hair; meaning it did not belong unto himself, who wore short hair: But soon after followed the death, not of the king of *Parthia*, but of *Vespasian*. It was a Christian and imitable speech of *Lodowick* the First, who unto his astronomer, seeing him observing the comet, and (to prevent an ominous and afflicting construction in the emperor's heart) alledging those words in the prophet, *Be not dismayed at the signs of heaven*, thus replied, *Timeamus Conditorem hujus cometæ*, Let us fear the Creator of this comet, not the comet itself; and let us praise his clemencie, who vouchsafeth to admonish our sluggishness with such signs.

Many instances we have in history of dissention in religion, and heresies following upon these meteors. A comet preceded the furies of the enthusiasts in *Germany*, 1533, the genuine offspring of whom is that generation commonly known by the name of *Quakers*. Comets are signal, though not causal: they are signal as to changes of divine providence which befall men, though they have no causal influence upon the minds of men. And be it so, that in themselves simply considered, future events, whether good or evil, are illegible; yet when they are placed

in conjunction with scripture-predictions concerning the iniquities of men, ripening for the execution of divine vengeance, being interpreted according to the word of their Creator, they are not without instruction.*

Mr. *Cotton* (upon his enquiry after the motion of this comet) being asked what he himself conceived of it, answered, That he thought it portended great changes in the churches. But that which further calleth upon us, not to be unmindful of sadder vicissitudes probably impending, is the formidable apostacie both from the order and faith of the gospel, appearing and threatening us in this age. Christ mentions prodigious tenets of false prophets, and false Christs arising, as (sometimes at the least) signal of publick calamities.† As the concurrence of multitude of heresies and mutability in religion, which gave occasion to that opprobrious and horrid proverb, *Fides menstrua*, was a means to bring in antichrist: so the present vexation of consciences, and of the civil estates with uncertainty and manifold heresie in matter of faith, hath no small tendencie to bring back the infallible chair. People will accept of a quiet harbor, though upon hard conditions, rather then be afflicted with continual tossings in stormy

* See Appendix, Note Y. † Matth. 24.

seas. 'Tis natural to man to covet any quiet land, rather then to dwell with the terror of a continual earthquake.

Heu pietas, heu prisca fides!

It was no despicable stratagem of the old serpent, knowing the time of the passion of Christ, and of the baptism of the apostles with the baptism wherewith he was to be baptized then approaching, to indispose the minds of the disciples thereunto, by possessing them with a pleasing but false expectation of a glorious and temporal kingdom of Christ in this world to be at hand. Persecution doubtless had been a more suitable meditation for *Iames* than to seek great things for himself; who notwithstanding his dream of a kingdom, was not long after killed by the sword of *Herod.* Time will shew, whether we have more cause to fear the death of the witnesses yet to come, or to conclude the time of their sackcloth to be over. His advertisement seemeth weighty that telleth us: *A credulous security of their death as past, if yet to come, is a more perillous error, than the expectation of it as to come, though already past.**

* Plus siquidem ad pietatem valet calamitatis futuræ expectatio, quam credula nimis de ea quasi jam transacta securitas. Mead Com. Apoc. cap. 11.

An awful waiting for a calamity conduceth more to piety, than a secure putting from us the thoughts of the evil day. The disciples, not minding the prediction of Christ's sufferings, but over-minding an external state of glory, meeting with the cross, were so offended, as that they were not free from sad misgivings of heart concerning their Saviour: *But we trusted that it had been he that should have redeemed Israel.* Whereas on the other hand, the poor *Albigenses*, fighting the battles of Christ Jesus in defence of the gospel against *Simon Montfort*, though overcome by him with a great slaughter, and upon that advantage of providence taken, sollicited by the bishop of *Tholouse*, (then interceding for them) that now God, having by the event of war determined for the Romanists against them, they would return from their heresie unto the Catholick faith; they (at such a time) having seasonably in their hearts that prophecie, *And it was given unto them to make war with the saints, and to overcome them;** answered, that they were the people of God appointed to be overcome. Thus they strengthened their faith, by being overthrown; they overcame the temptation, by being overcome;

* Revel. 13. 7.

and so not accepting of deliverance, were all slain to a man. Poor *Albigenses* looking seasonably at calamities to come, overcome; the disciples looking unseasonably at a kingdom to come, are overcome.

Times are in the hands of God, and to discern the times is the gift of God. Being designed to suffer is not so great an evil, as grace to suffer for the designer's sake is good: the condition of the witnesses is higher in the promises of the great God, then it is low in the street of the great city. Their ascension into heaven after three days and a half is legible long before their death. *Athanasius* seeth through the storm, and comforteth his fellow-sufferer's that *Julian's* persecution is but a little cloud, and will quickly be over.* That motto, somewhat altered by them of *Geneva*, is in this sense as true, and as truly alterable concerning every confessor; *After darkness we look for light.*† Whether it be an astonishment of heart, or the dictate of the Spirit, *Luther* leaveth the cause of religion howsoever unto Christ; I (saith he) am not much troubled: yea, I hope as concerning the event above what I hoped. God is able to raise up the dead: God is able

* Nubecula est, citò præteribit. † Post tenebras lux.

to preserve his cause, though falling; to raise it up again, though falne; to promote it when standing; if we be not worthy, let it be done by others.* *Jacob* foretelling the predetermined and afflicting vicissitudes concerning the tribes of *Israel*, comforts himself in a safe issue of all, as to religion, and the sincere professors thereof, thus: *I have waited for thy salvation, O God!* Salvation is a full remedy: and then is opportunity for the salvation of God, when the church's tribulation is such, as, that out of it, none but God can save.

The fixing of a beleever's eye aright, hath a vivifical and marvellous influence upon his heart. Christ beholding the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame. A Christian runneth cheerfully and undefiledly over the foulest part of the race set before him, looking unto *Jesus*. The council looking on *Stephen* saw his face as it had been the face of an angel: the reason is, *Stephen* looked stedfastly into heaven, and seeth the Son of man standing at the right hand of God. The best of the servants of God have lived in the worst times. *Noah* was not so unhappy that he lived in an unrighteous generation, as he was happy

* Stupor ne sit an Spiritus viderit Christus non valdè turbatus sum, &c.—Mel. Adam. in vita Lutheri.

in being righteous in that generation. Though the captivity took up so much of *Daniel's* life, yet when he shall stand in his lot at the end of days, it shall be no griefe of heart unto him, that he was both to spend and end his days in *Babylon*. It will be as well with those at that day who fulfilled their course upon earth, prophesying in sackcloth, as with those who are reserved to live in the glorious times of the gospel. It is not material in what age we live; but that we live as we ought in that age wherein we live.

Moriar ego morte justorum, et sit finis meus sicut illius.

Collected out of the writings and information of the Reverend Mr. *John Davenport*, Pastor of the Church at *New-Haven*; the Reverend Mr. *Samuel Whiting*, Pastor of the Church at *Linne*; the pious Widow of the Deceased, and others.

And compiled by his unworthy Successor,

Qui————
A longè sequitur vestigia semper adorans.*

Boston, Novemb. 6, 1657.

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* See Appendix, Note Z.

APPENDIX.

Note A.

Rev. William Perkins was born at Marston, Warwickshire, A. D. 1556. He was educated at Christ College, Cambridge, of which he was a Fellow at the time referred to in the Memoir. He was an eminently holy man, and a strict Calvinist. His writings, translated into Dutch, drew upon him the attacks of Arminius and his associates, and are thought to have had influence in preparing the way for the calling of the Synod of Dort. He died in 1602, aged 46.

Note B.

Dr. John Preston was Master of Emanuel College, Cambridge. During the residence of Mr. Cotton in England, Dr. Preston made it his practice to visit him every year, and used to "advise his near fledged pupils to go and live with him, that they might be fitted for public service; insomuch that it grew into a proverb, that *Mr. Cotton was Dr. Preston's seasoning vessel.*"

Note C.

Sozomen's account of this heathen philosopher is substantially as follows: He had come to Nice for the purpose of displaying his learning, and opposing and deriding the simple-hearted Christians. An old Christian, who had suffered with magnanimous constancy during

the late persecutions, undertook to dispute with him. Some were ready to raise a laugh at the old man's expense; while serious spirits were distressed to witness a contest apparently so unequal. Respect for the man, however, induced them to permit him to engage; and he immediately addressed the philosopher in these terms: 'Hear, O philosopher, in the name of Jesus Christ. There is one God, the maker of heaven and earth, and of all things visible and invisible, who made all these things by the power of his Word, and confirmed them by the holiness of his Spirit. This Word, whom we call the Son of God, compassionating the sons of men involved in error and wickedness, chose to be born of a woman, to converse with men, and to die for them; and he will come again, the Judge of all things which men have done in the body. That these things are so, we *in simplicity* believe. Do not then labor in vain, seeking to confute things which ought to be received by faith, and investigating *the manner* in which these things may or may not be; but if thou believest, answer me, now that I ask thee.' Struck with this plain, authoritative address, the philosopher said, '*I do believe.*' He with pleasure owned himself vanquished; adopted the sentiments of the old man; and advised the other philosophers present to do the same, declaring that he was changed by a divine influence, and moved by an energy which he could not explain.—*Sozomen, Book* 1, *chap.* 18.

Note D.

Dr. Mather says that the mayor of Boston [Eng.] and a corrupt party of the citizens were opposed to Mr. Cotton, and desirous of obtaining another person; that "when the matter came to a vote, there was an equi-vote for Mr. Cotton and that other person; and that, by a strange mistake, the mayor, who had a casting vote, pricked for Mr. Cotton. When the mistake was discovered, a new vote was urged and granted, which again proved an equi-vote; and the mayor most unaccountably mistook again, as he did before. Extremely displeased hereat, he pressed for a third vote, but the rest would not consent to it; and so the choice fell upon Mr. Cotton, by the involuntary cast of that very hand which had most opposed it."

Note E.

Mr. Cotton was settled, several years before the Synod of Dort, while the Arminian controversy was rife in the low countries, and had just begun to be agitated in England. His own account of his manner of treating it is as follows: "When I was first called to Boston in Lincolnshire, so it was that Mr. Baron, son of Dr. Baron (Divinity reader at Cambridge) first broached that which was then called Lutheranism, since Arminianism, being himself learned, acute, plausible in discourse, and fit to insinuate into the hearts of his neighbors. And though he were a physician by profession, and of good skill in that art, yet he spent the greatest strength of his studies in clearing and promoting the Arminian tenets. Whence it came to pass that in all the great feasts of the town, the chiefest discourse at the table did ordinarily fall upon Arminian points, to the great offence of godly ministers both in Boston and the neighbor towns. I, coming among them a young man, thought it a part both of modesty and prudence not to speak much to the points at first among strangers and ancients; until afterwards, after hearing of many discourses in public meetings, and much private discourse with the doctor, I had learned at length where all the great strength of the doctor lay. And then observing (by the strength of Christ) how to avoid such expressions as gave him any advantage, I began publicly to preach, and in private meetings to defend, the doctrine of God's eternal election before all foresight of good or evil in the creature; and the redemption (ex gratia) only of the elect; the effectual vocation of the sinner by irresistible grace, without all respect of the preparations of free will; and the impossibility of the fall of a sincere believer either totally or finally from a state of grace. Hereupon, when the doctor had objected many things, and heard my answers to those scruples which he was wont most plausibly to urge, presently after, our public feasts and neighborly meetings were silent from all further debates about predestination, or any of the points which depend thereupon, and all matters of religion were carried on calmly and peaceably."

Note F.

Mather says that the Earl of Dorchester came into Lincolnshire "about the draining of some fenny grounds. Mr. Cotton was then, in his course of preaching, on Gal. ii. 20, intending to preach on the duty of *living by faith in adversity;* but considering that noblemen were not much acquainted with afflictions, he altered his intentions, and discoursed on the duty of *living by faith in prosperity.* The nobleman was so much taken with what he heard, that he assured Mr. Cotton, if at any time he should want a friend at court, he would improve all his interest in his favor."

Note G.

It may be proper here to extract the following brief notice of the success of Mr. Cotton's labors in the place of his first settlement. "The good Spirit of God," we are told, "so plentifully and powerfully accompanied his ministry, that a great reformatian was thereby wrought in the town of Boston. Profaneness was extinguished; superstition was abandoned; and religion was embraced and practised among the body of the people. Yea, the mayor and most of the magistrates were now called Puritans, and the Satanical party was become insignificant." "There were moreover some scores of pious people in the town, who more exactly formed themselves into an Evangelical church state, by entering into covenant with God and with one another, to follow after the Lord in the purity of his worship. It was the main bent and aim of Mr. Cotton's ministry, to preach a crucified Saviour."

Note H.

Mather says, that "the renowned Mr. John Rogers of Dedham, [England,] having been, on his lecture day, just before going to preach, advised, that Mr. Cotton was brought into trouble, took occasion to speak of it in the sermon; and, among others, used words to this purpose: 'As for that man who hath caused a faithful pastor to be driven from his flock, he is a wisp, used by the hand of God to scour his people with; but mark the

words now spoken by a minister of the Lord: I am verily persuaded the judgments of God will overtake the man that has done this thing. Either he will die under an hedge; or something else, more than the ordinary death of men, shall befal him.' Now behold, how this prediction was accomplished! This miserable man, quickly after, died of the plague under an hedge in Yorkshire; and it was a long time ere any could be found that would bury him"!!

Note I.

Mr. Dod's counsel was of the following import: "I am old Peter, and therefore must stand still and bear the brunt. But you are young Peter, and may go where you will; and being persecuted in one city, you ought to flee into another."

Mr. Cotton, speaking of the spiritual courts, before which he must have appeared if he had not concealed himself, says, "They are like the courts of the high priests and Pharisees, which Solomon, by a spirit of prophecy, styleth *dens of lions, and mountains of leopards.* And those who have to do with them have found them markets of the sins of the people, the cages of uncleanness, the forges of extortion, the tabernacles of bribery, and contrary to the end of civil government, which is for the punishment of *evil-doers*, and the praise of them that *do well.*"

Note J.

The story of Luther's concealment at Wartburg (not Wittenburg) is familiar to every reader of Ecclesiastical History. See Murdock's Mosheim, vol. iii. p. 34. Paræus was theological professor at Heidelburg. His retreat, to which Mr. Norton refers, was in the suburbs of the city. Here he died in 1622. Jerome's "den at Bethlehem" was a monastery prepared for him at that place by his friend and patroness, Paula. Here he spent the latter part of his life, and died A. D. 422, in the 91st year of his age.

Note K.

Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna, suffered martyrdom in the

reign of Marcus Antoninus. He did not run in the way of his persecutors, but prudently concealed himself from them. However, when he was discovered he made no resistance, but cheerfully submitted, saying, *the will of the Lord be done.* Athanasius, in the course of his stormy life, was obliged repeatedly to conceal himself from the rage of his persecutors. In one instance, he remained four months concealed in his father's sepulchre. He died A. D. 373.

Note L.

Mr. Cotton came to New England in the ship Griffin, in company with Mr. Hooker, and Mr. Stone; which led the settlers to say, that God had supplied them with what would in some sort answer their three great necessities, viz. *Cotton* for clothing, *Hooker* for fishing, and *Stone* for building. They had much difficulty in getting out of England, all places being guarded to take Mr. Cotton and Mr. Hooker, and bring them before the High Commission. But their passage was comfortable, and comparatively short. For the most part, they had three sermons or expositions on board the vessel every day; one by Mr. Cotton in the morning, by Mr. Hooker in the afternoon, and by Mr. Stone in the evening. They arrived at Boston (New England) just after the people there had been, by solemn fasting and prayer, seeking unto God, that he would send them over such as might be eyes unto them in the wilderness, and might strengthen them in discerning and following the truth.

Note M.

These sentences disclose the views with which our forefathers commenced the settlement of this country. They came here, not for purposes of ambition or gain, but as members of the church of Christ, fleeing from persecution, and hoping to enjoy unmolested the worship and ordinances of the gospel. They intended that their government should be a Theocracy, and that none should rule over them, who would not rule them in the fear of God, and as subject to him. They wished to be governed, not only in their church matters by the laws of Christ, but in their civil matters by the laws of God.

The conception was a noble one; and if they made some mistakes in carrying their plans into execution, this was no more than might have been expected. Having come so far, and suffered so much, for the purpose of establishing themselves a separate people, and enjoying unmolested their peculiar views, they felt as though other denominations had no right to intrude upon them; and in their efforts to suppress or exclude what they considered as erroneous doctrine, they did not always pay a due regard to the rights of conscience, or exemplify the mild and free spirit of the gospel. Perhaps, if all circumstances were well considered, a sufficient excuse might be furnished for their incorporating, in the manner they did (at least for a time) religion with the state; though it is evident that this connection, in its progress, had a disastrous influence. It served both to embroil the state, and to *secularize* the church; and laid a foundation, there can be no doubt, for that lamentable apostacy, in which not a few of the Pilgrim churches are sunk.

Note N.

Gov. Winthrop says, "It pleased the Lord to give special testimony of his presence in the church of Boston, after Mr. Cotton was called to office there. More were converted and added to that church, than to all the other churches in the Bay. Diverse profane and notoriously evil persons came and confessed their sins, and were comfortably received into the bosom of the church. Also the Lord was pleased greatly to bless the practice of discipline, wherein he gave the pastor, Mr. Wilson, a singular gift, to the great benefit of the church."

Note O.

President Allen gives the following catalogue of Mr. Cotton's writings:

God's Promise to his Plantation: An Election Sermon, in 1634.

A Letter in Answer to Objections made against the New England Churches; with the Questions proposed to such as are admitted to church fellowship. 1641.

The Way of Life. 4to.

God's mercy mixed with Justice.

An Abstract of the Laws of New England. 1641.*

The Church's Resurrection; on the fifth and sixth verses of the 20th chapter of Revelation.

An Answer to Mr. Ball's Discourse on set Forms of Prayer.

Exposition of Revelation, xvi.

The true Constitution of a Particular, Visible Church. 1643.

The Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven, and power thereof. 1644.

The Doctrine of the Church, to which is committed the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven.

The Covenant of God's Free Grace most sweetly unfolded. 1645.

The Way of the Churches of Christ in New England.

The Pouring out of the Seven Vials.

The Controversy concerning Liberty of Conscience truly stated. 1646.

The Singing of Psalms a Gospel Ordinance. 1647.

The Grounds and Ends of the Baptism of Children. 1647.

A Letter to Mr. Roger Williams.

The Bloody Tenet washed and made white in the Blood of the Lamb; in Answer to Mr. Williams.

Questions propounded to Mr. Cotton by the Teaching Elders, with his Answer to each Question.

The Way of Congregational Churches cleared, in two Treatises, against Mr. Baylie and Mr. Rutherford. 1648.

The Holiness of Church Members, proving that Visible Saints are the matter of the Church. 1650.

Christ the Fountain of Life. 1651.

A brief Exposition of Ecclesiastes. 1652.

A Censure upon the Way of Mr. Henden of Kent.

Sermons on the first Epistle of John. Folio.

A Discourse on things indifferent; proving that no church Governors have power to impose indifferent things upon the Consciences of Men.

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* This abstract of such laws of the Jews as were supposed to be of perpetual obligation was drawn up in 1636. It is preserved in Vol. 5th of the Mass. Historical Collections.

Exposition of Canticles.
Milk for Babes: a Catechism.
Meat for Strong Men.
A Discourse about Civil Government in a Plantation whose design is religion.

Note P.

Rev. John Bradford, a bold and faithful servant of Christ. He studied at Cambridge under the celebrated Martin Bucer, and suffered martyrdom in the second year of Queen Mary's reign.—Synesius was Bishop of Ptolemais and flourished at the beginning of the fifth century. His Epistles and Homilies are much esteemed.

Note Q.

Rev. William Ames was educated at Cambridge, under Mr. Perkins; and after fleeing from persecution in his native land, became minister of the English church at the Hague. He afterwards was Professor of Divinity at Franeker—was a member of the Synod of Dort—and was on the point of removing to New England, at the time of his death, in 1633. He wrote several valuable treatises against the Arminians.

Note R.

Among those of whom Mr. Davenport here speaks were the celebrated Dr. Goodwin, and Mr. Nye. These men had not seen sufficient reason, as yet, to expose themselves to persecution for the sake of non-conformity; and they sought an interview with Mr. Cotton, hoping to persuade him rather to conform, than to leave his work and his land. But instead of bringing Mr. Cotton back to what he had now forsaken, he brought them off from what they had hitherto practised. They all refused further conformity to the enjoined ceremonies, and soon after were obliged to leave the kingdom.

Note S.

Other instances, illustrating the meek spirit of this excellent man, may be given.—Having observed to a

person, who boasted of his knowledge of the book of Revelation, that *he* wanted *light* on those mysterious subjects, the man went home and sent him a pound of candles; which insolence only excited a smile. "Mr. Cotton," says Mather, "would not set the beacon of his great soul on fire, at the landing of such a little cock-boat."

A drunken fellow, to make sport for his companions, approached Mr. Cotton in the street, and whispered in his ear, "Thou art an old fool." The good man replied, "I confess I am so;—the Lord make both me and thee wiser than we are—even wise unto salvation."

Note T.

There is an allusion here to the disturbances occasioned by Mrs. Hutchinson, and her adherents. The following is Mr. Cotton's account of the manner in which he was treated, and for a time imposed upon, by these fanatics:

"There was a generation of Familists in our town, who, under pretence of holding forth what I had taught touching union with Christ and evidencing that union, did secretly vent sundry and dangerous errors and heresies, denying all inherent righteousness, and all evidencing of a good estate thereby in any sort; and some of them also denying the immortality of the soul, and the resurrection of the body. When they were questioned by some brethren about these things, they carried it as if they had held forth nothing but what they had received from me. Wherefore, when I was advised to clear myself, I publicly preached against those errors.—Then said the brethren to the erring party, 'See, your teacher declares himself plainly *to differ* from you.' 'No matter,' say the others, 'what he saith in public; we understand him otherwise; and we know what he saith to us in private.' Yea, and I myself could not easily believe that those erring brethren and sisters were so corrupt in their judgments, as they were reported; they seeming to me forward Christians, and utterly denying any such tenets, or any thing else but what they had received of me. All which bred in sundry of the country a jealousy, that I was in secret a fomenter of

the spirit of Familism, if not leavened myself that way. But when, at the Synod, I discovered the corruption of the judgment of the erring brethren, and saw their fraudulent pretence of holding forth no other but what they received from me, *I thereupon did bear witness against them.*"

Gov. Winthrop says, "Mr. Cotton, finding how he had been abused by Mrs. Hutchinson and her party, and had been made (as himself said) their *stalking horse*, did spend most of his time, both publicly and privately, to discover these errors, and to reduce such as had gone astray."

Note U.

Dr. Mather says of Mr. Cotton, that he "was most exemplary for his liberality and hospitality. The stranger and the needy were entertained at his table *episcopaliter and benigne.* Indeed, he used to say, that if a man want an heart for this charity, it is not fit that he should be ordained as a minister.—While Mr. Cotton lived quietly in England, he was noted for his bountiful disposition, especially to ministers driven into England by the storms of persecution then raging in Germany; for which cause the German sufferers used to style him, *Fautor doctissimus, clarissimus, fidelissimus, plurimumque honorandus.*"

"The gathering of the second church in Boston was much to the disadvantage of Mr. Cotton, in many of his interests. Nevertheless, he was a John who reckoned his joy fulfilled in this, that in his own *decrease*, the interests of the Lord Jesus Christ would *increase;* and therefore, with an exemplary self-denial, he set himself to encourage the foundation of that church."

Note V.

It will be inferred from this paragraph, that Mr. Cotton's theology was not quite up to the standard of Mr. Norton's. Mr. Cotton, however, was a decided Calvinist. Of Calvin, he used to say, "I have read the Fathers, and the schoolmen, and Calvin too; but I find that he that has Calvin, has them all." And being asked why, in his latter years, he indulged *nocturnal* studies more than formerly, he replied, "Because I love

to sweeten my mouth with a piece of Calvin, before I sleep."

Note W.

Mather says, that after preaching his last sermon, Mr. Cotton "spent a day in that study, which had been perfumed with many such days before—a day in secret humiliation and supplication before the Lord, seeking the special assistance of the Holy Spirit for the great work of *dying* which was now before him. What glorious transactions might one have heard passing between the Lord Jesus Christ and his excellent servant, now coming unto him, if he could have had a hearing place behind the hangings of the chamber in that day! But having finished the duties of the day, he took his leave of his beloved study, saying to his consort, 'I shall go into that room no more.'"

Note X.

From one of these "funeral poems," written by a Mr. Woodbridge, the following lines may be extracted. It has been thought that the first ten of them suggested to Dr. Franklin the Epitaph which he composed for himself. The last six show the estimation in which Mr. Norton was held by his cotemporaries.

"A living, breathing Bible—tables where
Both covenants at large engraven were;
Gospel and law in 's heart had each its column,
His head an index to the sacred volume;
His very name a title page; and next
His life a commentary on the text.
O what a monument of glorious worth,
When in a new edition he comes forth!
Without errata may we think he'll be,
In leaves and covers of eternity."
"But let his mourning flock be comforted,
Though Moses *be*, Joshua *is not* dead;
I mean renowned Norton; worthy he,
Successor to our Moses is to be.
O happy Israel in America,
In such a Moses, such a Joshua."

Note Y.

Among the phenomena of the heavens, none have

been regarded with more superstitious apprehension than comets; and it is no discredit to such men as Cotton and Norton that they partook of the general feeling of their age. But through the labors of Newton and Halley, the mystery and fear which used to follow in the train of comets have been removed; their orbits have been measured; their return is calculated; and their appearance now is regarded as having no more influence upon the fate of men or nations, than the appearance of the moon, or the stars.

Note Z.

Mr. Cotton, we are told, was of "a clear, fair, sanguine complexion, and like David of a ruddy countenance. He was rather low than tall, and rather fat than lean; but of a becoming mediocrity. In his younger years, his hair was brown; but in his latter years, as white as the driven snow. In his countenance, there was an inexpressible majesty, which commanded reverence from all that approached him. His voice was not loud, but it was so clear and distinct, that it was heard with ease by the largest auditory; and his utterance was accompanied by a natural and becoming motion of his right hand. He preached with such life, dignity, and majesty, that Mr. Wilson said, 'One almost thinks that he hears the very prophet speak, upon whose words he is dwelling.'"

As good men loved and honored Mr. Cotton, so the wicked feared him. "The keeper of the inn where he used to lodge when he went to Derby, his native place, would profanely say to his companions, that he wished Mr. Cotton were gone out of his house, for he was not able to swear, while that man was under his roof."

By his second marriage, Mr. Cotton had three sons and three daughters. His youngest son and eldest daughter died, within a few days of each other, of the small pox, in 1649. His eldest son, named Seaborn, (from the circumstance of his having been born on the passage from England to America,) was settled in the ministry at Hampton, New Hampshire, and died in 1686. He was a good scholar, and an able preacher. His second son, John, was settled in the ministry at

Plymouth, Massachusetts, and afterwards at Charleston, South Carolina. He was eminent for his knowledge of the Indian language, and superintended the publication of Eliot's Bible. Of his two younger daughters, the eldest was married to a merchant, but died in her youth. The other was married to Dr. Increase Mather, and was the mother of the celebrated Cotton Mather. She lived to a good old age.—The widow of Mr. Cotton was afterwards married to Mr. Richard Mather, father of Increase, and minister of Dorchester.

THE END.

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